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FILE NO. Wash-Dir-OFF-OP-2606

DOCUMENT: #9109

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FORM 3-62 610 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS ☐ SECRET ☐ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ INTERNAL USE ONLY ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

14-00000

Luce Clare 9109
[illegible]

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
630 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

By Courier

November 14, 1942

Colonel William J. Donovan
Office of Strategic Services
Washington, D. C.

Dear Colonel:

You may have heard already about Mrs. Luce's campaign of political warfare in respect of the British Empire, but it's so interesting and so relevant to our operations that I am taking a chance on boring you with a repetition:

When Mrs. Luce went to the Middle East some time ago she had an interview with Auchinleck, among others, and obtained from him some extremely important and previously confidential information. According to one account, she even learned the date on which the British offensive in North Africa was due to begin. She wrote this information down in her notebooks -- and also inscribed her opinion of Auchinleck and of the British Administration in that part of the world and elsewhere, all of this in extremely uncomplimentary terms.

Previous to her return to America, she persuaded Monckton to put her notes under some kind of an official British seal with the idea that this would clear them without inspection through any British posts she might be passing on her way home. In addition to these notes under seal, Mrs. Luce also had further notes in her possession which she wrote after the earlier material was sealed. When she arrived at the British censorship in Trinidad, a British official looked through her unsealed papers and found among them the notes in which she had expressed herself with considerable feeling on the British. The official was moved by this discovery to break the seal which Monckton had placed on the earlier material, and read that too. Mrs. Luce felt very strongly about this action, and protested with great feeling, but the official at Trinidad was not deterred.

So grave a view was taken in Trinidad of Mrs. Luce's notes, and most particularly of the information she had obtained from Auchinleck, that all the papers were sent to London. According to one version, they even went to Mr. Churchill himself. They were then sent to Washington--apparently to the White House. It was only after these several examinations that they were returned to Mrs. Luce.

This history is supposed to explain the disciplinary action taken against both Monckton and Auchinleck some time ago, and it's firmly believed in at least some quarters that Mrs. Luce's experience was not altogether unconnected with the "Open Letter" to the British people recently published in Life Magazine.

Shortly after Mrs. Luce's return to this country, she spoke at an off-the-record meeting of the Overseas Press Club in Washington about her travels and took a very strongly anti-British-Empire position. The meeting was rather less informal, and the atmosphere was friendly to her, so there seems to be no reason to suppose that she was provoked into saying anything she did not really mean. Among other things, she said at this meeting that the Suez Canal should be turned over to the Egyptians.

"When do you think this should be done?" she was asked.

"Right now," she replied.

"Does that go for the Panama Canal too--do you think that ought to be given back to Panama?" another correspondent present asked.

"Yes," Mrs. Luce replied. "It goes for Panama too."

I cannot guarantee this account of the latest stages in Mrs. Luce's political career, but it comes from extremely well informed and sober minded persons who are without prejudice.

Hope to see you again soon.

All the best.

Yours,

Wallie Deuel

14-00000

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D-1

DE-INDEXED

FH

FILE NO. Wash Reg INT 178

DOCUMENT: YKX 850

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PAGE:

BOX: 13

FORM 1 DEC 55 610 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS (OP-8) 7-56 ☐ SECRET ☐ CONFIDENTIAL ☐ CIA INTERNAL USE ONLY ☐ UNCLASSIFIED

SECRET

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
X-2 Branch
[illegible]

Office of Origin: Kunming			Report No: XX- 850
Report Made At: Kunming	Date: 9 January 45	Period Covered:	Local File No: [illegible]
			Made By: BH/027
Subject: APPEARANCE OF COMMUNIST NEWSPAPER IN KUNMING			Status: Pending
Classification: (Subversive Activities)			
Reference:			

Approximately four days ago one of the U. S. Agencies in Kunming managed to pick up a copy of THE UNDERGROUND, a Communist paper. It was the first time, as far as we could learn, that this paper had appeared. Nothing is known about where it is printed or how it is distributed.

The month is marked but no date, altho it appears quite regularly. During this past ten days three different editions have been picked up. These editions have been taken to the Intelligence Division of the OWI and there translated.

UNDEVELOPED LEAD: This office is making every endeavor, in cooperation with the Office of War Information in Kunming, to locate the source of this paper and also its backers. Further information will be reported as soon as had.

BH/023

…RIFIED

Evaluation:

Distribution: 2-Washington (1 Copy of translations attached)
1-Det. 202
1-Repro
1-New Delhi
1-[illegible]

Approved by: BH/015
Officer in Charge

SECRET

襲香港汕頭廈門

台灣前日大半天在空襲中

三艦隊飛機

[illegible]

監院大批彈劾案

如此人事 構不成 應行

包括中茶公司、花紗布管制局、郵政儲金匯業局、三家銀行國庫、市公用事業和公共食堂管理局等機關

[illegible]

貴州省政府改組

政院任楊森為省主席，吳鼎昌調任府文官長

[illegible]

運輸隊每月可運物資七、八萬噸來華

[illegible]

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14-00000

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

Accession No. ....

Date Rec'd SA ....

To	Room No.	Date Rec'd.	Date Fwd'd.	Officer's Initials	Comments
1. Dy Dir		5/12	5/12	[illegible]	1. [illegible] for info.
2. For Ed		5/14	[illegible]	[illegible]	
3. [illegible]		5/1[illegible]	5/1[illegible]	[illegible]	
4. N. East		5/15	5/1[illegible]	[illegible]	
5. W. Eur.		5/16	5/18	[illegible]	[illegible]
6. Afr.		5/18	5/20	[illegible]	
7. [illegible]		5/21		[illegible]	
8. Files					
9.					
10.					

Each comment should be numbered to correspond with number in To column.
A line should be drawn across sheet under each comment.
Officer Designations should be used in To column.
Each Officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing.
Action desired or action taken should be indicated in Comments column.
Routing sheet should always be returned to Registry.
For Officer Designations see separate sheet.

SECRET

14-00000

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SECRET

Accession No. 7754

Date Rec'd SA 5/29/45

To	Room No.	Date Rec'd.	Date Fwd'd.	Officer's Initials	Comments
1. Cfr	1281		1-8	JB	
2. Registry					
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A line should be drawn across sheet under each comment.
Officer Designations should be used in *To* column.
Each Officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing.
Action desired or action taken should be indicated in *Comments* column.
Routing sheet should always be returned to Registry.
For Officer Designations see separate sheet.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Mr. Shapiro.
5/18/42 DW

May 18, 1942

MEMORANDUM

To: David Williamson

From: W. J. D.

Please have your people read the attached memorandum from Dr. Mason. What I am interested in is the suggestion from Perry Jester that we might win over various Vichy agents in Africa. I would like to have your views as to whether Jester should be talked with and that suggestion of his explored.

Please return the enclosure, after it has served your purpose.

SECRET

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

May 13, 1942

MEMORANDUM

TO Colonel William J. Donovan

FROM Edward S. Mason

SUBJECT J.I.C. Sub-Committee Meeting, May 12, 1942 (W.W. Rostow attending)

The Sub-Committee is undertaking three new papers:

German Manpower Losses

French Capabilities as an Active Axis Ally

Russian Capabilities

The first paper is assigned to COI for preparation. Responsibility for the preparation on Russian Capabilities is also assigned to this office, it being understood that the military section on the Western front will be undertaken with the cooperation of Colonel Montague and that the military aspects of the Siberian area will be covered by Commander Kenney. A Sub-Committee consisting of Commander Foskett, Dr. Hornbeck, Col. Meloy and Col. Fortier will undertake the preparation of the paper on French Capabilities as an Active Axis Ally.

Mrs. Clare Luce then addressed the meeting and a report of her remarks is appended.

E. S. M.

cc with enc. Dr. Baxter
Major Bruce

COORDINATOR OF INFORMATION

J.I.C. Meeting, May 12, 1942 - Statement of Mrs. Clare Luce

I Background

Mrs. Luce travelled to the Middle and Far East via the Trans-African ferry route, visiting Burma, India, and the Middle East. She had extensive opportunities for formal and informal conversation with the major military and political figures, as well as various operating airmen, soldiers, and correspondents. She carefully distinguished the quality of her sources, indicating where her views were based on observed facts, official statements, or gossip.

II Burma and China

Mrs. Luce arrived at Lashio at the time of the visit of Chiang and Madame Chiang. Their intervention was required not only to facilitate cooperation between the British and General Stillwell's Chinese forces, but also to enforce discipline on the Chinese generals nominally under Stillwell. It was rumored that a major opportunity to defeat the Japanese was lost at Tongou due to the unwillingness of the Chinese generals to obey Stillwell and attack. The arrival of the Chiangs was immediately known to the Japanese who bombed the Headquarters area for the first time in force. Mandalay, which Mrs. Luce saw immediately after the main bombing attack early in April, was leveled and deserted, with two to five thousand dead left in the ruins.

In a long conversation with Madame Chiang great bitterness was expressed against the British. Madame Chiang went back to Hong Kong, the Treaty Ports, and the Opium War, ending up with Wavell's failure to accept Chinese assistance in Burma. Madame Chiang indicated, however, that she would not accept a negotiated peace under any circumstances with the Japanese, recalling the Japanese occupation of Nanking. Under questioning Mrs. Luce stated that she did not believe the Japanese would move in force against China. All Intelligence sources in Chungking believe that the Japanese will move against Russia before June of this year. As for India Mrs. Luce stated that a full-fledged invasion by land forces seemed unlikely in the immediate future, but that bombing attacks on the Calcutta area were very likely -- these designed to exploit the political instability there and the concentration of Indian industrial strength.

In general Mrs. Luce believes that the British in Burma fought as well as their resources permitted. The R.A.F. was bombed out of Magwe early, leaving the main operations without air protection. The British claim that their radio directional finders were sabotaged by the Burmese Fifth Column; elsewhere gossip stated that the finders had been withdrawn prior to the Japanese attack. The one hundred British tanks proved ineffective as the main highway, on which they could operate, was flanked by forests through which the Japanese filtered. The presence of American technicians in the Burma oil fields probably guaranteed thorough destruction. Elsewhere there was "no earth worth scorching". The British General Alexander expressed the general belief that the failure in Burma was, in the long run, unimportant; that after the defeat of Hitler the Japanese could easily be

driven out. This blandness seemed to characterize the view of almost all Britishers in the Far East, although the Viceroy of India expressed regret that, for the sake of the Indians, British control in India would "not survive another fifty years".

Mrs. Luce visited the headquarters of the A.V.G. She expressed the hope that they would not be kept alive as a unit, but that their experience in fighting Japanese planes would be transferred to American pilots in training, especially at Karachi. She felt that neither the A.V.G. nor General Stillwell should return to China, despite their obvious value in maintaining and American link and American prestige. General Stillwell has apparently distinguished himself, under most trying circumstances, by his comradeship with the Chinese and his willingness to share front-line dangers and hardships. At a time when the Chinese are extremely sensitive, General Stillwell's attitude and action were of great importance.

III India

Indian morale is extremely low, lower in fact than before the Cripps Mission. The net result of the Mission appears merely to have strengthened Gandhi and the policy of passive resistance. Mrs. Luce believes, however, that, in a short run at least, there is nothing wrong with the morale of the Indians and the Chinese that could not be corrected by a couple of substantial victories. Wavell, in a letter to Mrs. Luce expressed himself as more concerned about Indian morale and possible military consequences of that situation, than with the strictly military aspects of defense. Mrs. Luce spoke very highly of General Brereton as a member "of that new race, the air man". It is Brereton's view that no important action should be taken by the air force under his command until they are in a position of local superiority; he did, however, "leak a little", by bombing the Andaman Islands and Rangoon. Mrs. Luce believes that a first-line air force maintained at 300 planes in India could defeat the Japanese in any move in that direction.

IV Middle East

General Maxwell is reported to be extremely popular in the Middle East; while General Adler was unpopular, possibly due to his forthrightness in criticising the British methods. Mrs. Luce visited the most advanced tank station in the British controlled desert area. She found numerous complaints, not specified, about American equipment. In general, however, she holds that the British have done a good job in the desert.

The British in Cairo have had extensive and chronic difficulties with their various allies. A Jugoslav revolution almost took place in Cairo while she was there. The Poles, Jugoslavs and French appear unwilling to enter British air units but hold out for independent air squadrons. The one hundred thousand Poles, "dumped across the border by Russia" were reported by gossip to have been turned down by Wavell and Auchinlech, successively, and then shipped to Britain. Mrs. Luce stated that the

British have been trapped by their own propaganda on behalf of their minor allies; and that the allies now overestimate their contribution to the war effort and steadily make trouble.

The biggest problem, however, throughout Africa and the Middle East, is that of inducing a shorter turn-around for shipping. At every port the complaint is the same, the blame being distributed between British administrators and the American Maritime Unions. The flow of planes over the Trans-African route was, at the time of Mrs. Luce's passage, very thin. She reported heavy fighter plane losses by crack-up; and a total lack of preparedness against air attack (in Liberia, Takoradi, Lagos, Fort Lamy, etc.).

Mrs. Luce passed along a statement from a Free French administrator in Lagos that extensive air preparations are under way in Morocco; and she quoted Perry Jester, American Consul at Lagos, now in the United States, as believing that it would still be possible to win over various Vichy agents and territories in West Africa.

W. W. Rostow

R. Boulton

May 5, 1942

Maj. David Bruce

Report by Mr. Jester, Consul at Lagos

In the early part of April the attached abstract of file 1896 (accessioned about April 1) was prepared at the request of Mr. Shapiro. There subsequently came to the attention of the African Section the attached memorandum to Colonel Donovan from Mr. Gimbel on the same subject. It would appear that (1) Colonel Donovan must have seen Mr. Gimbel's memorandum of March 12 already and (2) that the present abstract of file 1896 is now possibly inappropriate.

Lest this very important matter may have become sidetracked or mislaid through some accident of routine, I send you herewith all the pertinent data of which I have knowledge.

R. B.

14-00000

ABSTRACT OF FILE 1896

Subject: Report of Perry N. Jester re Organization of Consular Service in West Africa

To: Frank Mauran

1. Mr. Mauran believes that "American activities (presumably all activities besides shipping) must be coordinated."

2. Mr. Jester believes his reports and recommendations to the State Department are filed without adequate study.

3. Mr. Jester remarks that "one of our most important and urgent needs....is a better set up of our consular representation (in West Africa)". He is "firmly convinced" that:

a. The Lagos office should be a Consulate-General.

b. That other consular representatives in British West Africa should report through and coordinate with the Lagos office.

c. That independently reporting consuls at other posts in British West Africa should not be appointed.

d. That the Consul General should be a ranking Foreign Service Officer (of Class 4) middle-aged and experienced.

e. That the U. S. Consular organization in West Africa should be set up in accord with the controlling economic and political factors on the coast.

f. That the best organization would be as follows:

Lagos - Consul General (to be concerned with "larger issues of our over-all policy, our trade policy, our relations with West African governments, the effect of British Colonial policy on our interests and the relations (in cooperation with an independent American Consul at Dakar) of British and French colonies and policies."

Two Consular officers (to be concerned with Nigerian problems alone.)

Accra - One Consul (to be concerned with Gold Coast problems, Accra being the military center of B.W.A. and of importance principally for the shipment of bauxite, mahogany and manganese).

Freetown - One Consular Agent (because of the Naval importance of Freetown).

Bathurst - One Consular Agent (because of the importance of this point to air communications). This would be welcomed by the Governor of Gambia.

These recommendations and opinions and the irregular method used of bringing them to attention are arrived at from a consideration of the following points:

a. Mr. Jester has no personal interest since his tour of West Africa is almost finished.

b. Lagos is the political and economic center of British West Africa with a larger territory, larger population, and larger commerce than any other colony.

c. Lagos is the seat of the British West African Governor's Conference and this arrangement after the war is believed certain to contine anddto develop into a Governor Generalship of British West Africa.

d. The headquarters of the principal oil, shipping and trading companies is at Lagos.

e. Lagos was the site of headquarters of the Franck Economic Mission.

f. Not only now but after the war West Africa will be of increasing importance to the U.S. since British discrimination against U.S. trade will nevitably decline and development of our opportunities could now be implemented by strong and efficient consular representation.

4. "The official U.S. activities in the Gold Coast are in an uncoordinated mess", as a result overlapping of function and activities and division of authority of the

1. U.S. War Shipping Administration
2. U.S. Military Observer
3. U.S. Ferry Command
4. Barber West African Line

Abstracted by R.B.

14-00000

IP/AR
GA-50

TUBE GT-7

26 Feb 78	76-491	76	2
Wash-CA-PRO-385		385	24

FROM: IP/AR
CA/... ...
S. Corbet
REQUESTOR'S NAME - PLEASE PRINT

SUBJECT OR TITLE: Luce, Clare Booth

ACTION REQUESTED
X TEMPORARY CHARGE - WILL RETURN IN 30 DAYS / INDEFINITE; PERMANENT RETENTION; INFORMATION ONLY

TYPE REQUEST
ROUTINE; X TELEPHONE PRIORITY (next available run see no. 1 below); SPECIAL PRIORITY (Required exclusive run see no. 2 below)

TIME NEEDED: DATE (day-mth) / TIME; RMO OR AUTHORIZED DESIGNEE SIGNATURE

MATERIAL TO BE USED FOR (check one): FOIA; PRIVACY ACT; OTHER (specify)

REMARKS:
OGC
SP.

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2. SPECIAL PRIORITY REQUESTS MUST BE AUTHORIZED BY RMO OR AUTHORIZ...

IP/AR USE
RESTRICTED TO / REQUEST CLERK: CA 3

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8. E/BR/CIL Puchnick 4C44			
9. RID/CLR Reedy, Eliz 9E10			
10. C/HSI 2B1405 Hays, Ruth		7 June 71	rh
11. C/HSG 2B1405 H. Granquist		1 July	
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Job 71 ~~197~~
space 319424

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SECRET

Nov. 17 Munson phoned from N.Y. (see Memo). He had a long phone conversation with Shub that p.m., and hopes [illegible] in person Nov. 21. They both seem to want [illegible] the book.

Nov. 20 Sims saw Munson at hotel. Munson expects to see Shub tomorrow. Suren is going to do the book.

Dec. 14 Letter from Shub. "My collaborator is one of the top lay-out men on *Life*...." Munson will fill in on the details. Phoned Munson: will see him tomorrow morning. He said he was "reassured by developments last week & thinks things will work out OK."

Jan. 8, 1951 Munson told Sims "Shub should be rolling soon".

Jan. 15 MEMO to LST on status of Photo-book, by request.
" " X SHUB phoned: text of book is completed. See above Memo.

Jan. 16 Phoned MUNSON. He will try later today to see Bob Winston, who will return to him several papers on behalf of Bob Henderson.

no TS

SECRET

14-00000

Continued in folder #2

no TS

14-00000

SECRET

22 May 1951

Ray Millard says B. Shub
is a Covert Staff Agent.

HBS.

Boris told me 25 May '51
this is incorrect; he is a
covert contract agent.

SECRET

21 May 1951

If you decide you really need any of these, please let me know promptly, citing the XYZ number, so I can get the necessary permission. It shouldn't be too difficult to get permish, especially for ##2, 3, 6, and 7.

There are some dozen other 1941 Lithuania photos, but (a) some are very blurred; (b) they aren't dated nor located more closely than "victims of NKVD Lithuania 1941", i.e. it might be corpses or torture chambers anywhere. So you don't want them do you?

Am searching for the other items you asked for on the phone.

Bill

Sending photos ##XYZ—1 to 7 to Shub this afternoon.

21 May 1951

file "STALIN - PHOTO-BOOK

RE: Reproductions of CIA Graphics photos, given to NSS by DCS 17 May 1951. DCS requested them from Graphics several weeks before. Sent to him with a covering note from Dick Cornish, saying that Graphics forgot to omit the CIA captions. Cornish cut out the CIA numbers, but left the captions.

I have filed most of these in my folder PHOTOS.

The following I am sending to Shub, having cut out the CIA-typed captions and written same, in sterilized form, with the XYZ numbering, on the back.

~~[illegible]~~

I am reminding Shub that they can't be used without clearance by Graphics.

XYZ—1...USSR Asiatic RSFSR Primorsk Region VLADIVOSTOK 43 08 N 131 54 E
SECOND RIVER CONCENTRATION CAMP. 1946. CONFIDENTIAL.

XYZ—2...Germany, Brandenburg near Oranienburg 52 45 N 13 15 E
Sachsenhausen, former Nazi Concentration Camp, now used by Soviets. It is reported that there are 14,500 men and 1,500 women, mostly political prisoners, confined in this camp. June 1949. RESTRICTED.

XYZ—3...LATVIAN SSR RIGA 56 56 N 24 41 E
Soviet Deportation Car. 1941. RESTRICTED.

XYZ—4...Hungary Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun Budapest 47 30 N 19 02 E
Hangman loops strangling noose about neck of enemy of Communism in courtyard of old Marko Jail. 1948. CONFIDENTIAL.

XYZ—5...Hungary Pest-Pilis-Solt-Kiskun Budapest 47 30 N 19 02 E
Enemies of Communism are strangled in courtyard of old Marko Jail. 1948. CONFIDENTIAL.

XYZ—6...USSR Lithuanian SSR
Corpse of the rector of Lankeliskiai tortured to death by the NKVD. 1941. RESTRICTED.

XYZ—7...USSR Lithuania SSR
Row of corpses of Lithuanian workers in sugar refinery murdered by the NKVD. 1941. RESTRICTED.

14-00000

CONFIDENTIAL

17 May 1951

PHONED SHUB

Lou Scherer (NE) phoned to say that he had to see Levitas, editor of New Leader, in connection with a new project, and with several other matters. Would like to see him for about an hour. CSP had suggested I ask Boris Shub to arrange the appointment.

I phoned Boris Shub, and phoned Scherer back that Shub would meet him at 10.50 a.m. tomorrow in the bookstore below (?) the NL office at 7 E. 15 St. Shub will introduce Scherer to Levitas at 11.

Re PHOTO BOOK

Boris said there are 3 matters which "we can live without, but it would distinctly strengthen the book if you could perhaps get them at the Library of Congress."

(1) It is conceivable that there exist photos of crowds being fired upon in Nov.—Jan. 1917-1918, in connection with rioting on the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. (See Shub's Lenin).

(2) Fighting in Moscow, Nov. 1917 (There was no fighting in Petersburg).

(3) Collectivization. Some think it is conceivable there exist photos of peasants being shipped north to Siberia during Collectivization.
Cf. CIA Graphics?
Cf. Library of Congress.

Maj Journal

Re RUSSIANS AS ALLIES

Boris has just heard from a Russian friend, and has sent to London for confirmation —seen nothing in the papers about it here— that there has been formed in London a BRITISH SOCIETY FOR A FREE RUSSIA, with Major Hilton (author and ex-military attache in Moscow) as president and the Duchess of Atholl as vice-president. Encouraging, he thought.

He also mentioned the FREEDOM UNION FOR GERMAN-RUSSIAN FRIENDSHIP reported in the May 11 NY Herald-Trib, with Mayor Reutor and some Russians among the members.

Re PHOTO BOOK

LAY-OUT of the book received from Munson in SP/PW today.

SECRET

14-00000

19 May 1951

DICK

Our man "can live without, but it would help greatly to tie the book together,"

(1) Photos of crowds being fired upon during rioting, Nov. 1917–Jan. 1918, in connection with the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly.

Page 282 of Lenin by David Shub says: "The Assembly was scheduled to open on the morning of January 18, 1918. In anticipation of the long-awaited event, Lenin ordered a detachment of Lettish sharpshooters to PETROGRAD (St. Petersburg, now Leningrad; might be listed under any one of these names in Graphics files?).

(2) Fighting in Moscow, Nov. 1917. (There was no fighting in Petrograd, he says).

(3) Photos of peasants being shipped north to Siberia during Collectivization. Some think it "conceivable" they may exist. That would be around 1932, 1931 I guess.

He suggests trying:

1. CIA Graphics, Bldg 14. (Mr. Kessinger; used to be ex-2657
Mr. Beattie too).

2. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

You could ask Chuck Vetter whether he could arrange for you, without too much trouble to get into the place and borrow any photos they have, in the name of CIA, for a month or a couple of weeks (longer, if possible of course) for our man to make copies of.

I think it really would improve the book if you could get #(1) for them.

Many thanks.

WSS

14-00000

INCOMING TELEGRAM Department of State 55-50

TELEGRAPH BRANCH

SECRET

26

Control: 11327
Rec'd: April 23, 1951
4:51 p.m.

IE FROM: Frankfort

Info

TO: Secretary of State

P
GER NO: 8583 April 23, 8 p.m.
OLI
CIA
DCR

Recent discussions with Lunt, INP, pamphlet with comic, Soviet combative possibilities proposed, with thought giving publication attribution to local group to be determined. Urge INP's publications branch dummy up along following lines for production here: pocket size format, eight pages. Cover to carry photograph Stalin in friendly greeting with high-ranking, current party boss in good standing from one satellite countries. Title to reflect theme "Stalin's friends". Each page of inside book to carry photograph Stalin in friendly pose with such fallen, one-time heroes or friends of Sov Union as Trotsky, Hitler, Bucharin, Tito, Clementis or others dependent on existence pictures in archives.

Captions for pictures can be taken from one of two sources or both. Either original photo caption or quotation from that era when "friend" was in favor, or a later quote from a denunciatory statement concerning the fallen man. Possibly both quotes could be used, the former above, the latter below the pictures. Suggest most careful research be made for most succinct quote to carry off this idea. Request reaction soonest.

MCCLOY

PAF:DES

Copy for SP/PW files.

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

18 May 1951

SECRET

RE "STALIN" PHOTO BOOK

(also KMFUNNY "Communist Zoo")

Wesen in report for 21 May.

SDS saw MUNSON from 11 to 12.40

A thorough review of the whole set-up. Munson stressed two points:

(1) "The book must be locked up by July 31." Otherwise it couldn't be printed in September. And in that case it might be necessary to wait till about next March.

(2) "It must be the sort of book that Doubleday might be putting out." Firstly, because if it is "too propagandistic" the retailers just won't handle it (cf details re C.Zoo). Secondly, "Swen is still secure, stands up well under Dun & Bradstreet examination, and has been a great success in the FE. It has the NY reputation of a Far Eastern firm which does unusual things in the US. Swen as a going concern is more important than any one book: the book shouldn't be allowed to jeopardize Swen by being too obviously propaganda."

I returned the layout to him. (He has not seen the text either, nor I think the other 60-odd pages). He doesn't plan to tell Shub we've seen it. He recommended that we give Shub another week to continue on it. Then that, about Monday, May 28, Sims and/or Brynn go down to NY for 2 or 3 days and work with Shub on it.

NB: He said that, later, it might be possible for Shub to introduce me to his collaborator as an informal consultant whom he'd called in. In other words, in attempting to sell our views of it to Shub, we have also the problem of whether Shub could sell them in turn to his collaborator. and Security.

We both gave our views of the book at length.

Lyle's views included: that with the text it may be better than it looks; that there's 66 pages to come; that it is better to get out something than nothing; that we can always do a 2nd or revised version; that we must face facts and not put out a book which a high percentage of retailers simply won't handle. He also, at the start, said something along the lines of what I regard as Shubian erroneous doctrine: that we should show the responsibility that the USA and Germany (Hitler?) had for the state of affairs in the USSR; I said all such things might be sub-themes, if they could be tucked in without detracting from the main themes, but that I thought they were very dubious: 172 pages isn't enuf to show what a bad man and regime it is.

Omit all this

My views, agreeing with much he had said, included: that we ought to put out something that the man in the barber-shop, anywhere in the world, would leaf through and couldn't turn over more than 3 or 4 consecutive pages without beginning to think: "This really must be a bad man, killing that many of his own cabinet." That we should not attempt either an exhaustive or even consecutive chronological treatment of the 71 years since 1879 or even since 1905 or 1917. Just hammer home main points, such as that they had a Constituent Assembly, until Lenin killed it by force and fraud, etc.

SECRET

That the main themes should be such as: SECRET anti-Christianity + all other religion

He kills & kills & kills
He lies & lies & lies
They defect & defect & defect
The worshippers return disillusioned, in droves
The top CP men get liquidated as soon as Stalin takes over, in:
Bulgaria
Hungary
Czechoslovakia (Clementis trial coming up), etc etc

That what we should include is the things that differentiate them from us, after everything that can be said against us has been said: The things they DO DO, that we don't do.

That we are putting ourselves behind the 8-ball, to invite interminable arguments in re diplomatic history. Historians are still arguing about whether England, Austria or Russia was most responsible for W W I. It is folly to waste space attacking Stalin because he fought the Finns in order to get better defenses for Leningrad, —as we might fight anyone who threatened the Panama Canal. Or even to try too hard to pin WW II on him. (It is still at least arguable that it wd have taken place, in some form, even if Russia had still been Tsarist. After all, there has been much carnage long before Stalin was even born.)

We should, to be sure, touch the War and Peace theme, which means so much the world over. But the way to do it is to establish beyond doubt that the man is and always has been bad, ditto the regime; they both tolerate no opposition: therefore they are, in "self-defense" expansionist. But let us do this with broad, repetitive strokes, not get bogged down in the details of Munich, the Finnish War, Pearl Harbor.

We agreed that the best we can do, in all the circs, is to ~~xx~~ try once more to sell this view to Shub, and content ourselves with whatever result we can get.

NO

In view of past failures to sell Boris on the subject (at least on many points), I'm not too optimistic. I think we should:

(1) Devil's advocate him on the pictures we think should be scrapped;

(2) Get a promise from him that he will give some space to certain topics such as the SLAVE LABOR MAP and a display of, say, a dozen of the "11 Years in Soviet Camps" type of authors; a display of the "God That Failed" man

I stressed that JBIII and self would be only too delighted if Boris can convince us it is better than we fear.

RE $90,000. I asked what about this figure, which I had heard mentioned yesterday. Lyle said that Swen's investment in it would be amounting to about that. I asked if FE or SP would have to produce that sum. He said NO, Swen's budget is sufficient to cover it, as is.

Doubt

RE ROYALTIES FOR SHUB. He said the collaborator would be getting 7½%, which he thought might bring him in $60,000. He thought it might be justifiable —"discuss it with Legal and Joe"— ~~that~~ Boris's contract should be amended so that he would get a portion of the royalties that nominally come to him, insofar

SECRET

as they exceed his annual salary. I asked "What portion?" and Lyle said "oh, perhaps ½ or 1/3," which, if the excess were $12,000 —a figure Lyle suggested as possible— would bring him in an extra $4 or $6,000.

Shub's contract with CIA expires 31 Dec. 1951. His contract with Swen, Lyle pointed out, would still be in effect after that. / But his contract with ~~Xxxx~~ CIA would still no doubt obligate him to return royalties to CIA, i.e. Swen, even after 31 Dec. 1951. /

I said this mightn't be a bad idea, as Shub may tend to go somewhat sour, seeing his collaborator getting his much larger salary and 7½% royalties on top of that. On second thoughts, however, it is doubtless a very poor precedent —and we could perhaps obtain and quote to Shub CIA Legal's opinion to that effect— that OPC employees should take royalties from commercial enterprises with which they happen to be connected.

I believe he is paid quite a generous figure, which ought to keep a married man with no dependents ahead of the Collector of Internal Revenue. If not, or if it is thought he is really worth more, the possibility of suggesting to him a salary raise, when his contract as Agent comes up for renewal, could be considered. At any rate, in the interests of keeping his morale up during the final phases of work on the book, I suggest the whole matter should be handled not too brusquely.

RE "COMMUNIST ZOO", and refusal of many US retailers to handle it, see attached Memo of Record of what Munson told me.

Munson: "We have to face plain facts. My experience with "CZ" shows that we have to mix in glasses of orange juice with the castor oil. "CZ" is about as vicious as the traffic will bear. If the "Stalin" photo-book smacks too strongly of propaganda, a lot of retailers just won't even handle it."

CONCLUSION. We should stay in NY long enuf to

(a) Hear everything Shub can say in defense of his version;

(b) Do a strong debil's advocate job against the pages we think he should delete

(c) Insist that, in the remaining 66 pages, certain topics must be adequately dealt with: Slave Labor, Defections, Cultural Purges, Purges of top Communists in Iron Curtain countries.

(d) Hope for the best and be prepared to accept what may be a not too satisfactory bargain, —especially in view of what Lyle says about retailers, and about maintaining Swen's reputation.

WSS

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CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

17 May 1951

PHONED SHUB

Lou Scherer (WE) phoned to say that he had to see Levitas, editor of New Leader, in connection with a new project, and with several other matters. Would like to see him for about an hour. CSP had suggested I ask Boris Shub to arrange the appointment.

I phoned Boris Shub, and phoned Scherer back that Shub would meet him at 10.50 a.m. tomorrow in the bookstore below (?) the NL office at 7 E. 15 St. Shub will introduce Scherer to Levitas at 11.

Re PHOTO BOOK

Boris said there are 3 matters which "we can live without, but it would distinctly strengthen the book if you could perhaps get them at the Library of Congress."

(1) It is conceivable that there exist photos of crowds being fired upon in Nov.—Jan. 1917-1918, in connection with rioting on the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. (See Shub's Lenin).

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Cf. CIA Graphics?
Cf. Library of Congress.

Re RUSSIANS AS ALLIES

Boris has just heard from a Russian friend, and has sent to London for confirmation —seen nothing in the papers about it here— that there has been formed in London a BRITISH SOCIETY FOR A FREE RUSSIA, with Major Hilton (author and ex-military attache in Moscow) as president and the Duchess of Atholl as vice-president. Encouraging, he thought.

He also mentioned the FREEDOM UNION FOR GERMAN-RUSSIAN FRIENDSHIP reported in the May 11 NY Herald-Trib, with Mayor Reuter and some Russians among the members.

Re PHOTO BOOK

LAY-OUT of the book received from Munson in SP/PW today.

SECRET

SECRET

re STALIN PHOTO-BOOK

From CFW's Log for 17 May 1951

This morning I spent an hour and a half with Lyle Munson and Mrs. ~~Sherry~~? Vinson (FE), going over Boris Shub's narrative-in-pictures of the career of Stalin. Lyle showed us 114 finished layouts / i.e. 57 two-page spreads / of an eventual 172 or 174 and told us that the remainder would be finished in about 3 weeks. He also said that 60 pages of the text were now finished, and the rest would be done in about 6 weeks. He has asked us to provide him with the following material:

a. A memorandum from Bob Winston about the Finnish Air Force's 60 to 1 preponderance in its war with Russia. } JB III sent to Lyle. Log 18 May.

✓b. A memorandum from Harold Gosnell tracing US aid to Russia.

✓c. A set of photos of the Katyn Massacre and a copy of John Broderick's summary. / I sent Shub Katyn photos several weeks ago /.

SECRET

File STALIN PHOTO-BOOK SECRET

From CPW's LOG, 2 May 1951

Bill Kintner has suggested that Mr. Burris-Meyer consult with Boris Shub in New York tomorrow on themes for black PW against the USSR. Pinky and I see no objection to this meeting, and I have notified Shub to expect a call from Burris-Meyer.

Shub told me that his Stalin picture-book now promises to run to 172 pages, or about 80 double-~~space~~ page spreads, comprising some 500 photographs. He expects the layouts to be completed by 20 May, and the text by mid-June. Its price will be $2 or thereabouts.

SECRET

Mailed to SHUB, May 3, 1951.

LITHUANIAN DAYS, Vol. 2, No. 2, March 1951, published at 9204 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 3, California. With note:

"FYI, page 5 / rather blurred photos of Lithuanian resistance fighters and bodies of Soviet victims / and elsewhere as marked."
Note there is no indication that any of the material is copyrighted.

/Page 19: "Lithuanian Genocide Show in Waterbury.

Two American newspapers, the WATERBURY SUNDAY REPUBLICAN and the AMERICAN carried two long articles on Feb. 11 and 12 marking the opening of a genocide exhibit organized by Waterbury, Conn., Lithuanians.

The exhibit, the first of its kind in the U. S., has on display Soviet deportation orders, documents on confiscation of farms, actual photographs of atrocities committed by the Soviet Union in Lithuania, and other evidence. We reprint here a portion of the article which appeared in the WATERBURY AMERICAN."

Page 20: Poem, LITHUANIA CRUCICIFIED, by Nadas Rastenis; 6 verses in English. _?

WSS

"STALIN PHOTO-BOOK PROJECT" (for Monthly Report, 27 April '5[illegible])

Publication of a book of photos with text exposing evils of Stalin and his regime throughout his career.

a. Great progress has been made in assembling the book, by ROBERT H. HEADLEY and a collaborator. They are planning on a book of 175-195 pages, with some 600 photos.

b. The publisher is pressing for a September 10 press date, and has lined up a Chicago press.

W. S. Sims

SECRET

14-00000

Mailed to Shub

21 April 1951

Concluding paragraph of Melvin J. Lasky's article "Did Hitler Help Stalin in the Frame-up?" in NEW LEADER, 25 Dec. 1948:

"Those were awful and terrible years. Years of intrigue and deceit, of betrayal and calculated evil-doing. Hitler and Stalin were at once creators and products of this epoch. From these new glimpses into the secrets of their political affairs we see once again Adolf Hitler, single-purposed and resourceful, and Josef Stalin, ruthless, perhaps for a moment gullible, but in the end unswervible. And what a dark witches' brew emerged from all of this— the German militarists trained and equipped a Soviet Army which was later to destroy them and annex a third of Germany— the Soviet reared the German military power which was later to lay waste to all of European Russia."

Rather vividly put; some such phrases might be useful in your text? Whole article, with which you're doubtless familiar, of interest in re the biography.

Best regards,

Bill

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

12 April 51
DATE

TO: MR. ~~BRYAN~~ SIMS

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:
FYI: "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK

Excellent - Informative.
Encouraging. Etc.
Thanks Tho

FROM: WSS

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

SECRET

file "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK

SECRET

MUNSON saw Sims, Smith, Loebs at his hotel 16 April 1951

Munson went through the complete book last Wednesday and Thursday evenings, April 11 and 12. He is sure it will be "one of the really important books of 1951."

He has asked for 3 photostat proofs of the layout, which we can look at down here. He agrees with me that no useful purpose would be served by my going to NY to see it, as B Shub had suggested. He thinks it inadvisable that "a stream of people" should go to Shub's collaborator's apartment.

They are now aiming at a book of 175 to 195 pages, the pages to be of Vogue size; which, on an average of 7 to 8 photos per double-page, will come to some 600 or more photos.

It is more than the personal career of Stalin; it could better be called something like "The Rise and Rule of Stalinism."

He is pressing for a SEPTEMBER 10th PRESS DATE. That may be too optimistic, but he has located a Chicago press which prints either Vogue (Conde Nast) or a Vogue-size magazine, and which, if they stick to that format, can handle it with dispatch. Munson will be going to Chicago to investigate.

PRICE. "I could be 100% wrong on this estimate," but: it should cost a minimum of \$1.25 to print, and, if we want to make 25¢ net, \$2.95 or \$3.00 would be the minimum at which Brentano could retail it. / I'll bet it will come to more than this. WSS /

Shub's collaborator, "absolutely wonderful; the book is now 75% his", will get 7½% royalties. Shub's nominal royalties will revert to Swen.

Munson feels strongly that it is very bad policy to sell a book at less than obvious cost. He says he is completely certain that this is true in the Orient, and gave us XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX a chapter-and-verse example (which escapes me) to illustrate it.

By "obvious" cost he means that it may be OK to count on the public's not guessing how much it may have cost you to pay a Barnes and to do, e.g., seven prints of some of the "C.Z." photos; but it is bad to price a book at less than what the physical components must obviusly have cost.

He is dead sure this applies to the Orient, and strongly suspects that it would hold good for Western Europe also.

[illegible]

W.S.S.

SECRET

"Excellent. Information. Encouraging. Thanks. JBIII"

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SECRET

17 April 1951

SECRET

FOR QUARTERLY REPORT

Please change part on "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK PROJECT as follows:

a. Swan Publishing Company will publish and is meeting expenses. / Delete the rest of this para. /

c. Book will consist of some 175 to 195 Vogue-size pages, about 600 photos with text, and several who have seen it are certain it will be one of the important books of 1951, a devastating expose, suitable for world-wide circulation. ~~[illegible]~~

Change d. to read:

d. The publisher is pressing for a September 10 press date, and has lined up a Chicago press.

e. All rights in the book, and the royalties nominally paid to HEADLEY, will revert to CIA (Swan).

SECRET

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SECRET

16 April 1951

DRAFT FOR QUARTERLY REPORT

"STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK PROJECT: publication of a book of photos with text exposing the treacheries, brutality, etc., of Stalin and his regime throughout his career.

a. Swan Publishing Company will publish and is meeting expenses; there~~fore project has not been formally written up; this will be done shortly.~~

b. Great progress has been made in assembling the b ook, by ROBERT H. HEADLEY and a high-level layout collaborator who draws on the photo files of a national picture magazine.

c. Book will consist of some 500 or more photos with text, and several / JKIII and Munson / who have seen it are sure it will be a devastating expose, suitable for world-wide circulation.

d. The authors have estimated publication in August, 1951 as a possibility; but this may well prove over-optimistic.

e. All royalties and rights in the book will be turned over to CIA (Swan Publishing Company).

WSS

See revision of this, above

SECRET

15

MEMO OF RECORD SECRET

SIMS saw MUNSON in his hotel 19 March 1951

In addition to the details which he gave about "Communist Zoo" and the "Stalin" photo-book, Munson said:

Re Swen. "Tell Joe I need a man who knows the book publishing business, as a "consultant" or part-time helper. To be paid something like $300 to $400 a month, for which he would gige, say, a week of his time each month."

I asked if he would like to have any CIA man detailed to do liaison with and be part-time helper of Swen; Munson said he didn't think a staff man would be very secure. He'd need to travel, deal with other publishers, etc.

Swen offices are established in Taipei, Tokyo, Manila, Hong Kong, Bangkok.

Swen will reproduce material in any language, in any format. If anybody wants him to do a job, let them contact him.

I asked how about getting material translated; he said you can always get it done in New York.

The finished product would be cargoed out to the field.

Re ROCKPORT, the artist. Munson has been paying him ($350 a month I think), and now feels he has gotten about as much material out of him as he will need. "Why not suggest to SCHILLER that The Challenge employ him on a regular basis?"

I said that the editors of The Challenge (all Russian-speaking) must already know him, since they have used his drawings. That when he finds himself unemployed he can, and quite likely will, approach them anyway. Why not let them decide whether they want to employ him, rather than for us to complicate matters, through SCHILLER, by forcing this extremely "difficult" men on them? Munson agreed we should let it ride.

If the editors themselves want to employ him, we can then decide whether and how much of the DTEXCISE funds should be used to pay him. As he is very difficult and dilatory it might be better to stipulate that he be paid on a piece-work basis.

Re "Great Swindle" and Swen's distribution problem in general.

Munson said that, while the photo-books should pay their own way, it was never contemplated that The Great Swindle would be a commercial success. Distribution of such material is Swen's great problem.

SCHILLER wrote Munson that he (FTUC) couldn't use The Great Swindle. Munson thinks professional jealousy entered into this. SCHILLER made some criticism to the effect that the booklet bears no Trade Union logotype, whereas he should know perfectly well that lithographed material never does.

SCHILLER should simply be told: "Put out so many copies of the Great Swindle." Alternatively, the geographic Divisons should give indigenous Anti-Communist groups $25,000 or $2,500 and say: "This is yours if you mail out umpteen thousand copies of the booklet with it."

Re State Dept. and Great Swindle. Munson suggested my giving a copy of the Great Swindle to Mrs. Crosswell or Col. Stubbs and asking them to recommend it to MacKnight as something they had come across, with the suggestion that the State Department buy copies of it for all their Reading Rooms.

I asked whether MacKnight or anyone in State knew of CIA's connection with Swen. He said he did not know, though he dared say MacKnight might. He said he would be willing to call on MacKnight to discuss State Dept. assistance in getting Swen stuff disseminated, representing himself merely as a private citizen.

I said I hadn't and wouldn't make any mention of Swen to anyone at State.

Horace Eng is as much [redacted] as anyone Munson's main CIA contact, but, he said, Horace of course doesn't have time to concern himself actively with dissemination outside the FE area.

I told him about recent State publications, in their "gray" program, such as "Glossary of Soviet Terms", and pointed out that State and Swen are now putting out similar material.

I said I hoped some sort of set-up might be arranged whereby State would help disseminate some of Swen's publications.

Suggest that the initiative towards any such set-up has to come primarily from Munson himself, but that it will be potentially an important matter requiring careful working out by CPW, Col. Stubbs, Munson and State Dept.

WSS

cc – SP/Labor
SP/Bruskin
Sims/Swen file

Thanks
JBill

SECRET.

Bryan [illegible]
a max of 500

file: "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK SECRET

SIDE saw MUNSON in his hotel 19 March 1951

Munson said they are now planning in terms of a book of "up to 220 pages, between 1,000 and 1,500 photos" (some of which might be two or four photos to a page. "It will cost a lot of money."

I mentioned again that we have $40,000 appropriated under K-FUN Y for "similar photo-books at the discretion of CSP", but Munson said there was no need to spend the taxpayer's money: as many as possible of these books should be made to pay their own way.

cc: Mr. Bryan

SECRET

SECRET

30 March 1951

MR. EASTON--

I have just phoned Boris Shub, AC-2-0164. He will expect Jack Morgan to get in touch with him. 510 West 110th St., NY 25.

Shub can be reached there any time any morning. In the evenings he is working in the apartment of a collaborator, and prefers not to be phoned there.

He expects to be in town both Tuesday and Wednesday.

WSS

Shub and his collaborator work all Sundays and Mondays at the latter's apartment. Therefore if Morgan wants to phone him Monday he had better catch him at breakfast.

SECRET

SECRET

30 March 1951

SIMS phoned SHUB, 1200

To ask him to see Jack Morgan (LA) (on an LA job). Shub said he will be in town both Tuesday and Wed., and that Morgan can always reach him in the mornings, anytime.

In the evenings he is working at his collaborator's apartment, and pr efers not to be phoned there.

I told him I would phone him on the 16th, so that we can get together. He wants me to see the lay-out, which should be pretty complete at that time, "minus the final text". They were working on it till 4 a.m. last night; evenings are the only time his collaborator can work, except Mondays which he has off; they work on it all day Sundays and Mondays.

They have locked over 6,000 photos.

I told him Dawson wd be sending him a couple of dozen photos.

SECRET

14-00000

26 March 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: File, STALIN PHOTO-BOOK

SHVB, Lt-Col

Sending Subj 12 photos captioned as follows:

1. Papers from body of Polish army chaplain.
2. One of the mass graves.
3. Before he was murdered his hands were lashed behind his back...
4. Thousands of the corpses show the four-edged wounds.
5. 2. This is the certificate authroizing them to wear...
6. Arch Deacon JASINSKI picks his way...
7. A former major.
8. 4. And this is SMORAWINSKI again.
9. 3. This is his cigarette case.
10. Map showing location of Katyn.
11. 12 layers of Polish officers.
12. This family photograph survived.

This leaves just 8 photos remaining in our JBEXTRA files.

lj — ?

26 March 1951

Dear Boris,

Thanks for y ours of the 22nd, reached me Saturday evening, crossing mine of the 23rd to you.

It is all wonderful news, and the more you think about it the more amazing it is that "nothing even remotely resembling it has ever been done— anywhere in the world". And I know what a hell of a lot of work and worry it is, and what a relief it will be when it is safely done.

[Katyn]
Twelve pix go to you this morning by registered mail. Those are my all at the moment. You will find them a great deal better than none. In fact, you may think they are enough to do the trick. Reflect that no one of them —fakery in photos having a long history since WW I— can in itself constitute conclusive proof, nor any photo that could be.

For that, your text will carry more weight: the undisputed facts of geography and chronology; the depositions; the TACIT ADMISSION OF GUILT IN THE DAMNING FAILURE OF THE USSR TO RAISE THE MATTER AT NUREMBERG (here see Churchill's last volume, and perhaps quote a sentence or two from him; "names make news"; see also Mikolajczyk, from whom you may cull a juicy quote or two.)

It seems that "about a dozen" photos were given to all who attended the 21 Nov. 1949 press conference. So you may find Ep and/or the HL has one or two more. But there is not much more. Just one or two others of layers of corpses.

Your impact will come from the skilfull addition of citation of facts to the pix I'm sending, don't you think?

On your second request I'll do what I can. But you know one of the main reasons why it may not be much. My friend who will know returns from out of town tomorrow.

"Baltic Review" has no pix. "Estonian Magazine" has only scenic. However I may be able to do something tomorrow.

Here again I suggest you consider capitalizing on the very absence of pictures, remembering that y ou have a great gift for the trenchant phrase. E.g., life in Riga pre-1939 was not too bad; now, as you can quote from the press, there is deportation after deportation; partisans; exploitation; almost universal hatred of the "people's democratic" regime. Edmund Stevens in This is R, Uncensored you'll recall said nothing so gave him the impression of the living-death-under-Stalin as Riga, which he revisited. Therefore, just show a RIGA PEOPLE-IN-MARKET SQUARE SCENE, PLUS QUOTE FROM STEVENS, and a bit of biting Shubian prose contrasting 1939 and 1949. Don't you think there is a place for a few "peaceful" pictures of this sort? Pix of partisans in action are few and far between, and often fuzzy, and there can anyway be, as you were saying, such a thing as too many atrocity pictures.

Pari passu, why not use some ordinary, peaceful UKRAINIAN scenes, plus RECENT QUOTES FROM PRAVDA, repeat PRAVDA, OFFICIALLY ADMITTING ACTIVE RESISTANCE THERE. I can't give you said quotes, but you or some of your friends very likely can lay hands on them.

After all, no "resistance" photo, what with fakery, will carry conviction to those who won't be convinced. But a PHOTO OF THE FACE OF PRAVDA, with the

sentences underlined, must shake even the faithful.

On Lubianka I can't help. If the NY Times won't help, and there is nothing in any agency files —can this be?— I guess you've had it. Here again you might capitalize on the absence: can they be ashamed of this historic edifice, which plays so vital a role in the national life? E.g., Herblock today has a "cartoon" which has merely a black border around a white space, with the mast-head of La Prensa above. Needless to say, it is eye-catching in the extreme. Why not do the same with Lubianka?

Alternatively, you might have a photo of 60 Andrassy Ut, and perhaps combine same with the above "empty space" treatment.

I grant you that if this technique were carried to the extreme, you would be making history with a photo-less photo-book; but rest assured the Herblock cartoon is a 100% attention-catcher.

Couldn't agree more with your last paragraphs. However, there has been marked progress.

I expect, d.v., at long last to be absent from Friday the 30th till Monday the 16th, and mail probably won't be forwarded. Therefore please write J if need arises.

Best regards,

Bill

(W S Sims)

Sent
Special Delivery

14-00009

510 West 110 Street
New York 25, New York
March 22, 1951

Dear Bill:

Picture book now in high gear as layout is beginning to take shape. New pictures of both historical and photographic pricelessness still coming in (e.g. a shot showing a wildly cheering crowd of Russian peasants greeting first German troops---before latter went in for mass murder) This picture never used in this country. Could multiply by many examples but prefer to have you come down and see for yourself. If you could be here about three weeks from now, you could get a fairly good notion of what the finished product will look like (although there will still be a lot of polishing, and caption writing and final checking to do). I am now certain that the book will be a major political event. Nothing even remotely resembling it has ever been done--anywhere in the world.

Need help on two major sectors promptly:

1. Katyn massacre pictures. Saw lots of them your neck of the woods. Please send them soonest, properly packed in cardboard to prevent folding or cracking. This is a must, since for some odd reason this is missing from the otherwise bottomless archives which we've unearthed.

2. Any decent shots of anti-Communist resistance behind the Iron Curtain. We have a few of the East German things with the "F" painted on walls. But Joe mentioned others. Cant have too much of this, since it constitutes an essential element in the closing part of the story.

Will be difficult to incorporate such stuff unless we get it fast, because would mean dislocating the layout, which is now designed to flow like a motion picture recording of the whole big story. Hope this presents no obstacles. Joe thought your end could send stuff to me. Registered mail sufficient precaution, it seems to me.

The Acheson letter in today's NY Times re friendship with the Russian people a step in the right direction though still a long way even from the speech delivered at Town Hall by McMahon day before yesterday. But somehow, someone must teach Acheson to cut out this sort of humbuging:

> "If the men of the Kremlin could but conquer their inward fears and resolve their contradictions, if they could but bring themselves to the comity which is the foundation of peace, great burdens would be lifted from the shoulders of people everywhere."

What is the purpose of this rubbish? I know lots of professional diplomats think this is very "cute" and arch stuff, really meant to "embarrass" people like J.Stalin and G. Malenkov. Actually, the only thing it can arouse, bothnamong the Kremlin war criminals and among their victims is ---utter contempt. If anybody in Moscow takes that drivel at face value, they conclude that the U.S. is still too frightened of the boogey man in the Kremlin to call a spade a spade. That silly stuff must end! Please end it. The inward fears of Stalin-Malenkov-Beria will only be resolved on the gallows. Best regards.

[MARCH 22, 1951] Boris

Puckett (x3144 ~~[illegible]~~) phoned.   24 March 1951

"Estonian Mag ", in English
published in germany (available from London)
29 Ashburn Pl., London SW7

have only one copy
has only some pix — only scenery.

"Baltic Review" has no pictures.

Tabard Inn
1739 N St., NW
Washington 6, DC

March 23, 1951

Dear Boris,

Thanks for the clippings. All to the good.

Will do what I can to help, but, for reasons that will re-occur to you, you shouldn't bank on its being a great deal.

Suggest you might well get excellent results by following the trail, via phone and taxi, of the AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE KATYN MASSACRE, INC., which was, at the time of its founding circa Nov. 1949, at Room 1209, 470 Fourth Avenue, NY 16, MU-6-4488.
Chairman, Arthur Bliss Lane. Vice-chairmen: Max Eastman, Dorothy Thompson, Treasurer: Montgomery M. Green. Executive Secretary: Julius Epstein.
Why not contact Lane, or Epstein? Why shouldn't they be glad to help with their material, both textual and photographic.

Others listed as Committee Members: Constantine Brown, G. Creel, W. J. Donovan, A. W. Dulles, Farley, B. F. Gunther, Sol M. Levitas, . B. Luce, Charles Rozmarek, Sokolsky, V. S. Freedom, Jas. A. Walsh.

9 mailed him some of our Katyn photos.

New Leader, 30 Sept. 1950, had an article "New Light on Katyn Massacre." "The Defense Dept.'s release of a top-secret report on the mystery-shrouded Katyn massacre has shed new light.....The release of the Van Vliet report, written by an American Lt.-Col. held captive in Germany who reluctantly fixed the guilt on Moscow after a Nazi-sponsored visit to Katyn is the first major break in the conspiracy of silence which has surrounded the affair ever since.

"In 1943..the NL carried an exclusive article by Kerensky..directly charging the Kremlin..Last year the NL published a special 4-page supplement on Katyn by Julius EPSTEIN. (See your local phone-book)....
"It was only as a result of the Committee's persistent efforts that the long-suppressed Van Vliet report was finally released..."

If you haven't ~~as~~ you should glance at Mikolajczyk's account in The Rape of Poland. Because it contains a verbatim alleged account of "how it came about" by a shame-faced Russian officer in London, which you might find quotable. "So they asked 'Father' (Stalin) and 'Father' said..etc.."
/Churchill in his latest volume, in an oddly restrained account, makes it clear he knows Stalin was responsible, and refers to the books by M. and Anders./

Photos. The NY Times, serializing Churchill, 9 Nov. 1950, had, if you are interested in irony or impudence or whatever, a rather blurred photo, "released at the time by SOVFOTO," which Sovfoto described as showing members of the Polish Corps of the USSR holding memorial services at "the common grave of the Polish officers and men brutally shot by the Germans."
Some of the corpses show marks made by the four-sided, peculiarly Russian bayonet, and others had hands tied with the MVD-type knot. Surely Epstein can help you here?

Please let me know how you make out with Epstein and/or others, and don't hesitate to ask me again. I just think he's a better, quicker bet. I'll do what I can re the other pix and let you know. It sounds a masterpiece.

Sincerely,

Bill.

CPW log. New York, 17 March 1951

1. I spent three hours with Boris Shub today, two of them in looking over his collection of photographs with his associate, Mr. Quint, of Life. Boris and Quint hope to have their book ready for publication by the end of May, when they will have reduced their collection to 500 photographs, which they estimate will fill about 200 pages. I have no doubt that the book will be a commercial success; my only wonder is why it has not been done before. Boris asks our help in obtaining certain photographs. (Bill Sims please note.) He wants all procurable photos of the Katyn Massacre, all resistance photos (Bill: Is there a magazine called the Estonian Review, which prints a good many of these?) and a certain photo of Lubianka prison, in Moscow. The New York Times had a photograph of Lubianka in its issue of Saturday, 12 November 1949, to illustrate installment 7 of General Smith's Memoirs, and ISB should be able to discover where the original came from. Boris has a letter from the Vanguard Press expressing hope that his biography of Stalin would be ready by 1 May; he will notify Vanguard that it cannot possibly be ready for another seven months. Finally, he told me that he was meeting Colonel Kintner on 20 March, for several conferences on BRAINWAVE. He signed his secrecy agreement, which I will deliver to John Shields on my return.

No!

2. a. Corey Ford informed me that his story about General Smith (originally written for Flair) had been rejected by both Look and This Week and is now awaiting a decision from Harper's. (I reported

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

12-3-3?

DATE

TO: MR ~~BRYAN~~ SIMS

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Re ~~S-H-O-B~~. last ¶. What do you suggest?

FROM: 1035

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

SECRET

12 March 1951

CSP

SP/OPS

Re: ROBERT H. HEADLEY

At lunch today Munson said that HEADLEY has finished his part of the work on the photo-book on the career of Stalin; he has completed the text part; his collaborator is "100%" better qualified to select the photos and do the lay-out.

/ Re security the collaborator's employers told Munson "brutally" firmly that while the collaborator's name can appear on the book (along with HEADLEY's) and it will be revealed that that magazine was the source of the pictures, and they may help "syndicate" it, if it is blown that they are making the pictures available free, the deal is off.

Munson thinks the book will be a world-beater, but that it may take till August to have it ready.

I said that we have $40,000 still untouched in KUFUNNY, which was appropriated for "similar photo-books at the discretion of CSP", and suggested helping Swan out with some of that. He said he wasn't worried about money; that he thought OPC was if anything too ready to spend the taxpayer's money; that Swan's products should be able to pull their own weight. The book might have to sell for $3.50 or more in the US; in Hong Kong it would be a $1 or $2.

He will pay both HEADLEY and the collaborator royalties. HEADLEY's will be returned to Swan. /

SECRET

SECRET

KSACLAY wrote me recently that the book was now at a stage where most of the work had to be done by his collaborator. Since his name is to appear on it, I imagine he will still have to put in quite a bit of time on it, from time to time. He is also —or was when I last heard— doing "part-time" work on loan to HB in connection with BRADEWAVE.

__Conclusion__: except for the above, he is not occupied, and Munson suggests we should give him another job to do.

WSS

cc: "Stalin" photo-book file.

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: SP/Sims

NO.

DATE 6 March 1951

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. CSP				[illegible]	Excellent news from Shub re the photo-book on the career of Stalin.
2. SP/DCPW				[illegible]	
3. SP/CPW				[illegible]	
4. SP/Sims				WSS	I have written him for an appointment on the 17th.
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

March 3, 1951

Dear Bill:

Good to hear from you, even though your letter, as usual, too brief for my appetite. From "our mutual friend William" you know more about my activities than I do about yours.

[atop Life lay-out man]
My collaborator is working like a fiend, with the assistance of a sub-fiend (female) who digs up pictures by the hundreds (literally). Last night I worked with him until 2 oclock in the morning (with a brief intermission for a prize fight on his television set). In that long stretch we went through over 400 pictures which he had just combed out of various labyrinths. Out of this batch we discarded about one-third, tossed away a couple of dozen poor substitutes for the real thing which the new haul corrected, and filled the present 40-odd chapter folders (provisional) with the cream of the crop.

As you will gather from the above paragraph, the illustrated book on the man and his international network --and the forces all over the world arrayed on his side and against him--- ain't no ordinary picture album. It will be, I am quite certain, a major work. There is little point my attempting to describe it in a letter, but I am quite confident that it will be read xxxxx--and even more important-- looked at, with absorbed interest this year, next and ten years from now. What is more important, it will make convincing, I am certain, what no words, written or spoken, can ever make completely convincing.

As far as the "date when it will be wrapped up"--- I can only say that I am acting the role of the slave-driver and the speedup man right now. It is, however, a ticklish role, which would have undesirable results if overdone. [illegible] Both my main collaborator, who is certainly one of the best men in the country in the field--and the best man for this particular book, is giving it every free moment, as is his fantastic research assistant. But a good picture book--as I told you xxxxxxxxxxxxxx when we discussed the idea originally, is as much of a job as any good book. I think we have broken the back of the job, and I am confident that the product will excel your fondest dreams. As far as pinpointing the date, I think I'll be in a better position to do that in about three weeks, when the haul will be substantially in, xxxx and when we will have pared down our present mountainous collection to the essence. I should imagine that xx when our friend [illegible] returns [Swan] from his present jaunt, my collaborator and I will be able to give him a fairly [illegible]. At that point we'll have to settle with him the major technical questions in connection with the actual printing job. The largest single question we see is this: Price of book versus quality and lasting value. What I mean is that the book as it now shapes up

is a major work--a complete pictorial history not only of the man, but of the setting that produced him, the international ramifications that are so much a part of his life, his intrigues and his machinations. ~~Your xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ But what is even more intriguing, we are reaching the stage where the pictures illustrating all this will be of striking pictorial quality. ~~How do we do all this and still turn out a book that~~ is priced to ~~sell~~ ~~at [illegible] within the reach of the [illegible]?~~ ~~When we have that question licked, the rest will move fast.~~ We are agreed that it would be a serious mistake to sacrifice either quality or essential elements of the over-all story. The trick now is to do all that and yet turn out a book that, by ~~xxxx~~ one means or another, will sell at a price likely to make it a mass-circulation job.

For further details, please board first available train or plane and join me over a drink at 510 West 110 Street. Perhaps I've already put too much of this on a typewriter. I wish you could have seen the pictures we worked on last nite. You ~~xxxx~~ would then realize that the original stuff you saw was so much fourth rate stuff by comparison.

(I guess the last two sentences are really intended as a lure. But I really would like to see you soon)

Best regards to the gang. Will give you a more exact timetable as soon as it is feasible.

Doris

SECRET

8 March 1951

STATUS OF W.S.S. PROJECTS

"STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK PROJECT.

This has not yet been formally written up as a project, because it has been being implemented, *de facto*, by our salaried contract agent HEADLEY in conjunction with the publisher Swen Publishing Co., who has been meeting the bill and will continue to do so.

Nevertheless I think it will shortly prove desirable for me to write it up, since (a) it may prove desirable for SP (under KMFUNNY) to subsidize Swen on it, in order to make possible a somewhat lower selling price, and (b) it will be more convenient to have it wrapped up as a named project, which can be referredx to by name, and for which SP can have credit in its status reports.

HEADLEY has completed the text part of the book. He and a top-flight *Life* lay-out man, of whom he has a very high opinion (and an assistant who helps the *Life* man dig up photos) have been through a very large number of photos. HEADLEY is confident that the book will be a first-class job.

If all continues to go well on the *Life* front, —i.e. if they make no objection to the use of pictures from their files— the main remaining problem will be: how to combine retention of high quality, i.e. adequate reproduction of as many photos as they need to tell the story the way they feel it should be told, with quantity, i.e. sale at a low enough price to make possible wide dissemination.

Too heavy a subsidy (by OPC) would blow the Government-inspiration of the book. Perhaps, if the book proves to be as good as we feel it should, the State Department's III Information Program or Book Translation Program might get behind it in a big way?

We should go energetically into this problem of selling it at a low enough price as soon as Swen's president returns. In the meantime HEADLEY and I are of opinion that quality should not be sacrificed. If it is of really first-class quality and PW effectiveness, quantity can be achieved, sokehow, by subsidy.

HEADLEY will appear overtly as the author. Possibly the A. F. of L. might help give it world-wide distribution, as they have done in the case of x the maps of the Slave Labor Camps in the USSR.

If all continues to go well, it looks as though the book might be getting into shape for the printer in April or May.

When this is written up as a Project, it will be a Sub-project under KMFUNNY. KMFUNNY, approved long ago, includes a Recommendation (para 5) "...that...the sum of $40,000 be appropriated for the development and distribution of simiolar photo-books at the d iscretion of Chief, SP." The Sub-project requires only the signature of Chief, SP, as I understand.

EXPENSES. Small sums were paid to HEADLEY, summer 1950, duly recorded in Ray Millard's office, for payment in connection with photos obtained from New

SECRET

York agencies. These sums were charged either to EX KMFUNNY, or to DGHOUSE, to be transferred to KMFUNNY when KMFUNNY should be approved, or when the "STALIN" SUB-PROJECT under KMFUNNY should be written up and approved.

SECRET

14-00000

Tabard Inn
1739 N Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

March 6, 1951

Dear Boris,

Delighted!

And I have circulated the good news around.

Yes, when our pal returns --which I gather should be somewhere round about March 15-- we will have to address ourselves in a big way to the problem of achieving both quality and quantity. As time goes on, I imagine he will get better and better able to cope with that problem, and I think he should be helped in a big way to do so. In the meantime, I agree with what I'm sure is your view (your letter is not at hand at the moment) that any conflicts between q. and q. should be resolved in favor of quality. The quantity can follow. (Build the really quality mouse-trap, and sooner or later, preferably sooner, the world will beat the path).

Just a detail: you've undoubtedly seen the De Custine in the March 5 LIFE. Could you use:

> "To live in the Kremlin is not to live; it is to protect oneself; oppression creates revolt; revolt necessitates precautions; precautions increase the danger; and of this long series of actions and reactions is born a monster, despotism which has built itself a house in Moscow --the Kremlin!" (p. 124) ?

I still agree with you the thing as a whole is marred slightly by the phrase "..this essentially aggressive nation.."

I haven't any immediate plans to go to N. Y., but we must certainly foregather before long.

Best regards,

Bill

14-00000

Tabard Inn
1739 N Street N W
Washington 6, D. C.

Feb. 26, 1951

Dear Boris,

Glad to hear from Dee-dee that you are still alive and kicking. And, especially, that there is some prospect of your getting down this way. I sure hope you do.

Also glad to hear from our mutual friend William that he's seen you, and to get some news of you from him; and that you will have got some news in general from him.

How is your collaborator coming, and is he squared away with his bosses? What is your best current guess as to the date when it will be wrapped up?

Joe got generally overworked and came down with grippe, and left for two or three weeks or more to recuperate. A lot of people round here have been or are laid up; I was for a couple of days and am still somewhat under the weather. However, even if I haven't written I've thought of you often.

Drop a line; and don't delay your visit to the Nation's Capital too long.

Best regards,

Bill

SECRET

file "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK

20 Feb. 1951

Re SHUB and BRAINWAVE

At request of Mr. Winston I phoned x Shub (AC-2-0164) to ask about progress on the Photo-book, and what is the earliest date at which he may be thru with it. No answer.

RAW says Kintner is asking for him for BRAINWAVE. I suggested not interrupting him till he has finished the photo-book. RAW consulted LST, who said to say Shub might be made available on a part-time basis. RAW understands he would do his work for BRAINWAVE in NY. I said this seemed OK, if it were to be only part-time.

21 Feb. 1951

I phoned Kintner re Shub. He has recently seen Shub in NY. Shub said he had reached the stage in his work (on photo-book) for us where his collaborator wd hv to do most of the work for about a month. Kintner said the work Shub wd do for him wd be in NY, and only part-time. I said this all sounded OK. /Shub not referred to by name over the phone/.

WCS

SECRET

14-00000

16 Feb. 1951

MUNSON left about Feb. 7th for 4 or 5 weeks.

Due back about March 14th.

SECRET

14-00000

5 Feb. 1951

"Every 'peace program' is a deception of the people and a piece of hypocrisy, unless its principal object is to explain to the masses the need for a revolutionary struggle of the masses."

From Lenin, April 1916, selected works, International Publishers, New York, 1943, Volume V, page 237, —taken out of context.

SECRET

SECRET

MR. FINSTON:

30 Jan. 1951

Re: "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK, tie-in with *Life*.

H.'s DAILY DIARY of Jan. 27: "Piernis of F--l [illegible] informed me that he understood that *Time* and *Life* absolutely did not want any of their people connected with any intelligence organization and that Allen Dulles had given instructions that none of them were to be approached without Mr. Wisner's written approval. On the assignment in question, Piernis gave up any attempt to utilize the man they have on *Life's* staff and has sent another man to cover the assignment instead."

Shub, who is preparing a photo-book on Stalin's career for Swan, is getting (or hopes he is getting) the help of "one of *Life's* top lay-out men" (only Shub knows his name; Hunson didn't want to ask him), Who it is at $35 per diem.

Shub, of course, is doing the book ostensibly as a private citizen, so if security is maintained it doesn't seem to involve a *Life* man's being "connected with any intelligence organization."

As they get ready to publish (perhaps April), the *Life* man will have to decide whether he wants his name to appear on the book as collaborator, in which case he will probably have to (a) get *Life's* permission. And (b) if they use any photos from *Life's* files, as well as from agencies, he will have to get permission for that too.

It should all be OK if Shub keeps up his cover as private citizen.

HSS

CC: Mr. Winston
"Stalin" photo-book file.

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

23 January 1951

Mr. Richards (Legal) phoned, on behalf of Mr. Kelley, re the contract between HEDLEY & CIA re disposition of royalties.

He said Mr. Kelley had referred it to him, with some such message as: "OK to let it stand as it is, if appropriate documentation of the records there / Swen? / and here can be provided."

Mr. Richards asked if doing the photo-book was to be [illegible]'s main activity. I said yes, for a month or two, after which he would have some new assignment. He said all the better.

I said the only problem had seemed to be whether there was any legal objection to having Swen hold the rights to the book instead of "the Government" and Swen receive back the royalties instead of "CIA". Mr. Richards seemed to agree there was no substantial difficulty there, and ended: "Ok, Joe or I will let you know if there seems to be any difficulty there or need to amend the contract", or words to much that effect.

WSS

SECRET

SECRET

KMFUNNY = #2 = "Stalin" photo-book = for PRB 17 Jan '57

Personnel = Manson (Swen) + Shub, + Life collaborator

Security = OK = Shub = covert contract agent

Materials = ± 150 sterilized photos from CIA Graphics
± 75 photos obtained by Shub
more photos will be got by Shub + Life

Spent = ± $172 for photos obtained by Shub and for services in obtaining them.

Swen will meet expenses
" has advanced $ to Shub for expences
" has authorized Shub to pay Life man not more than $35 per day.

SECRET

[Were not called to the meeting]

SECRET

12 Jan. 1951

QUESTION for Munson:

Re the second photo-book: Stalin Biography

Any dates or figures that could go in a progress report? Pub. April

What does he estimate will be total number of photos? 150

Any tentative estimate on the selling price? No.

Has his collaborator gotten permission from his employers to use their files and/or to sign the book as collaborator? Unknown

Re first photo-book:

What is best estimate of date it should be on sale? April 1

RW showed this to Munson Jan. 16

Munson wrote the above answers.

3

SECRET

TRANSMITTAL SL

15 Jan
DATE

TO: BILL SIMS

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Noted with interest

many thanks.

show to JBIII

FROM: RHPrasley

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

15 January 1951

15 Jan. '51

MR. THOMPSON

SUBJECT: Shub's work for SP.

1. He is a covert "contract agent", contract expiring 1st Dec. 1951.

2. As far as I know, he is working only on the "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK, a book of probably some 150 photos-cum-text on the career of Stalin exposing, mostly out of his own mouth, his duplicity and ruthlessness to his own colleagues, etc., etc. This is to be published by Swen Publishing Co. There will be master negatives, and it should be good for publication in every country.

3. "The Choice" was published October 29, and after giving him a week to recover from the excitements of first-time authorship (he had a good many radio and TV interviews),

4. JH[redacted] needled him November 9:

"We are very anxious to have the photo-book finished as fast as possible. Handled as you alone can do it, this book will be one of the most effective shots that can be fired and we need it quick.

"My understanding is that you are now engaged full time on it. Is that also your understanding? If so, please let me know (1) that the photo-book is your first concern, and (2) what progress you have made to date.

"Again let me emphasize the great enthusiasm we have for the photo-book, and our complete confidence that it will have your own brilliant, informed and incisive touch when completed."

5. Shub replied November 13:

"I am anxious to get the picture book rolling and done as quickly as possible. The loose ends connected with ~~the~~ THE CHOICE (radio appearances, sticking pins and needles into Donothing, Sloth and Fierce, etc.) while nerve-racking, do not take so much of my time any longer, so that I am in a position to devote my full time to the picture book....

"I'm partially stymied, however, by your cryptic series of notes and instructions regarding a publisher. Thought the thing was pretty well settled when your note was given to me at the lunch at

SE...ET

Biltmore recently / with ISF /. But your letter of November 8, 1950 had this footnote:

> 'Please be sure not to say anything at all to anyone about the mutual friend who was mentioned at lunch / Munson /; very important; he'll explain why when and if he sees you, perhaps within a week or two.' / This was just that Munson was anxious about security for Swen /.

"Without a final decision on type of publisher it is exceedingly difficult to determine character, size, tone and scope of the book. It would help me a great deal to know what's up on that score. Simon & Schuster presents one type of problem — and suggests one kind of approach. The mutual friend, who I assume (without being 100% sure) is the publisher you referred to in the note you sent to the Biltmore — suggests something quite different — perhaps much simpler and direct — and more outspoken.

"If this question cannot be clarified by mail, please arrange for us to get together soonest. Once this is out of way, I hope to move fast. I'd be a four-flusher and liar if I pretended that I had made notable progress until now. I've been held up not only by the above, but — being painfully human — by a lingering desire to keep THE CHOICE from being embalmed in the Donothing, Sloth & Pierde Funeral Parlors. I've now given it about all I've got and will do my darnedest ~~in~~ not to allow it to cause me any further loss of sleep or diversion of energy from the job on hand.."

6. Munson had a long phone conversation with Shub November 17, at Sims's request, and planned to see ~~him~~ November 21.
November 20 Munson told Sims that Swen will publish the book.

7. A Contract between Shub and CIA was drawn up by Joe Kelley and Sims, and signed Sept. 16, 1950, whereby "the Government" will own all rights to the book, and Shub will return his royalties "to CIA".
Now that Swen is to be the publisher, I have asked Joe Kelley whether it will be OK that the rights should be owned by Swen (a CIA-controlled corporation) and the royalties returned to Swen; or whether he wants to amend the contract.

8. Progress on the book. Last summer Shub and I got some 150 photos from CIA Graphics, of which I sent him sterilized duplicates to New York. He also got 75 excellent ones from New York photo agencies. I have from time to time sent him a lot of suggestions for photos and captions, and if he wants anything done down here he will let me know.

Shub wrote me, December 14:

> "This is just a brief note to give you the latest on the picture front. I won't fill you in on the details because our mutual friend / Munson / will be in Washington early next week and will give you all the dope. ~~[illegible]~~
>
> "Suffice it to say that my collaborator / whom Swen has authorized him to pay $35 per diem / is one of the top lay-out men on

at *Life*, one of those $25,000 per annum men. For the present he doesn't want his association with the picture book known to his employer for several good and compelling reasons. (Including the fear that they would plagiarize the idea). But in the final stages he'll have to tell them in order to get their cooperation on digging into their files as well as their official permission for the use of his name as a collaborator.

"Needless to say, all of the above is a deep dark secret, but then what isn't these days? More important than all of the above is the fact that the gentleman in question / Munson purposely didn't ask Shub who his collaborator is /, in addition to being a top-flight picture man, is deeply interested in the subject and—miraculously— knows a great deal about it.

"I hope nothing happens to make him back down on his decision. Impossible to get anybody nearly as qualified. Our friend will fill you in on the rest: what remains to be done, how to do it, etc.

"Of one thing you may be sure: If my collaborator stays with the project and if no act of God intervenes, the final product will be the picture book of all time. He wants to see it sold on newsstands among other places.."

9. Munson told me January 8 he had seen Shub about a week before, and "he should be rolling pretty soon."

10. FLASH! Shub just phoned. He said I had proved correct on the point that "Having the book all pictures, without words, is rubbish." He has found it necessary to do a brief written Life of Stalin, bringing in all his major misdeeds, and keeping it as simple & clear-cut as possible.

The MS of that is now being typed. That was the hardest part of the job. Now it should go fast, if the mechanics can be done fast. Namely, the *Life* collaborator will get the extra pictures from the files needed to fill in the story.

Shub thinks it is really pretty good.

I asked if the *Life* man's name will appear on it. We both agreed there is no reason why it shouldn't. It will depend on whether the *Life* man wants it, and whether he thinks it would go down with his bosses.

I told Shub Munson was planning to be away 3 to 4 weeks from about Jan. 28, possibly earlier. Shub will contact Munson before then. We agreed Shub should be able to carry on with Munson's printer in Munson's absence.

11. CONCLUSION. Depending on (a) how much time the *Life* man can give to it, and (b) how fast Munson's printer can handle it / he is just starting in on the printing of [illegible] Animal photo-book / the book should, with luck, be ready about 6 or 8 weeks from now, —say about March 15.

SECRET

12. Re Shub & other SP work. JHIII, a week or two ago, was about to phone Shub about some job he wanted him to do. I suggested he leave him to concentrate on the photo-book.

13. Re Boris Shub's & David Shub's "BIOGRAPHY OF STALIN". Last summer, OLMSTEAD having raised the matter, I was told to draw up a project to give David Shub $3,000 for 6 months leave-of-absence from his job, to complete the biography. This was killed because, I was told, you had instructed Shub to work on it himself, during working-time.

Shub and his father had a contract with a publisher for this biography, on which they were already overdue. When JHIII wrote to needle Shub about the picture book, I wanted to clear up the status of the biography, —how they stood with their publisher now that we had instructed Shub to work on the photo-book instead. JHIII said, "Leave Shub to raise the matter if he wants to;" this turned out fine, as Shub's enthusiastic reply of November 15, above, didn't mention the biography.

If there is nothing more pressing for him to do, perhaps Shub might be asked to work again on the biography when he has wrapped up the photo-book. Or the project to subsidize his father for 3 or 6 months work on it might be revived. Judging from the 18 Chapters that were seen here, it should be a very good book, highly readable and fit to give pause even to fellow-travellers and Stalinists.

WSS.

3 Dec. 1951
He never made any mention of it then or since then. Nov. 29, 1951 he told me he told Vanguard he needed to work on the photo-book for Sam first, and that the photo-book would be a quickie.
W.S.S.

Noted with interest
by R. Winston, 15 Jan.

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

16 Jan. 1951

MUNSON has an appointment to see Shub in NY tomorrow. I told him Shub had phoned yesterday, reporting progress.

MUNSON said he doubted Shub would be fully ready for the printer before Munson's return, and didn't want him to try to handle it with the printer in Munson's absence.

MUNSON will try to see Bob Winston later this afternoon.

He will return from NY Friday evening, Jan. 19.

WSS

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

12 Jan. 1951

SECRET

MR. KELLEY

RE: Agreement (16 Sept. 1950) between CIA and HEADLEY re production of photo-book.

You will recall that in the agreement, which you drew up and which was signed 16 Sept. 1950 by Mr. Echols and ROBERT M. HEADLEY, it is provided that HEADLEY "will be required to transfer the gross royalties to CIA."

Swan Publishing Co. is now to be the publisher of the book. I saw Munson Dec. 19, who told me he has already advanced money to [illegible] HEADLEY for expenses, and has authorized him to pay his collaborator (a Life lay-out man) on a fixed fee basis, i.e. not more than $35 per diem.

Swan plans to pay all the expenses of production. It is his understanding that

(a) Swan will, on paper, pay HEADLEY standard royalties, which HEADLEY will return to Swan, and that

(b) Swan will own all rights in the book (which will facilitate Swan's putting out foreign editions).

In other words, it is Munson's hope, and mine, that, as he put it, Swan, being a wholly CIA-controlled corporation, "will simply step into the shoes of 'the Government' and 'CIA' in the agreement."

Munson said you had drawn up the papers for Swan. We both hoped this way of handling the matter, whereby the financial details would all be handled in Swan's books and not occupy the time of OPC personnel, will be legally acceptable?

When I mentioned the matter to John Bischoff, Jan. 5, he said he thought we should check with you whether:

(a) we can simply let the 16 Sept. 1950 agreement stand as is, or

(b) whether the agreement should be amended to read "to Swan" instead of "the Government" and "CIA".

SP/H. S. Sims

To Kelley

SECRET

SECRET

Daily Diary, Jan. 7, '51

JB lunched Munson.
Munson going on a trip
("roughly 22 Jan. to 10 March").

SECRET

SECRET

Re: KMFUNNY.........and "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK:

SIMS saw MUNSON in his hotel, Dec. 19, 1950

Munson leaves for NY this evening. OK to leave messages for him to phone.

Re JOKE-BOOK. He mentioned a contemplated pocket-size book, collecting anti-CP jokes. I said I would contribute what we had in PB II and add from time to time. For further details see my folder JOKES.

He gave me post-card (Sw) by Rockport illustrating joke about "Who Owns the Automobiles". (He got this from a 13-yr-old boy in Germany in 1947, and he and an Army man each put $20 of their own into having it xxx printed and spread).

Re KMFUNNY. Barnes was to have met him Friday (Dec. 15), but had to go out of town to a funeral.

He expects to see Barnes tomorrow (Dec. 20), when Barnes is to deliver about 60 of the photos with his own captions. Munson will then let CHAPPELL look it over for a couple of days. He will then bring it down here and ask Messrs. Bryan, Nadler and Sims look at it. (I told him not to hesitate to leave me out).

Barnes has been OK. I said I would check how his clearance is coming. It was requested Nov. 2 and should be ready, says John Shields, about 3½ months from Nov. 2

Re "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK. See Shub's letter to Sims, Dec. 14, in file. Munson also thinks it is coming well, and should be good, if the Life man continues to prove a good collaborator.

Munson does not know the name of Shub's Life collaborator: he did not encourage Shub to tell him. [Munson says he is sure SWEN is still secure, and there is no reason why it shouldn't continue to be, "if everyone in CIA will keep their big mouths shut; too many know about it"). SWEN may be suspected of Government-inspiration, but it should not be blown.]

Munson has advanced Shub money to pay expenses, and has authorized him to pay his collaborator not more than $35 a day. The collaborator will definitely be paid on a fixed fee basis, i.e. per diem, no royalties.

SWEN can pick up the tab for Shub's expenses in procuring photos, etc That will appear in Swen's accounts, but, happily, there is no need for KMFUNNY's files to be cluttered up with the details.

Re Contract

MUNSON knows of the agreement, re disposition of royalties, which SHUB (HEADLEY) signed with CIA. He "has seen" it; i.e., presumably has seen the sterilized notes Shub made of it, —since Shub retained no copy.

MUNSON understands that SWEN will own all rights to the book. I.e., "SWEN will simply step into the place of CIA in the above agreement." I.e., SWEN, on paper, will be paying Shub standard royalties, but Shub will return them to SWEN.

I said that, as far as I could see, this sounded OK, SWEN being 100% a CIA corporation. Munson said that Joe Kelley had helped draw up the papers setting up SWEN, and was therefore fully cognizant of it and sympathetic to it. Only an excessively legal-minded bureaucrat would quibble over having the royalties re-absorbed by SWEN, rather than disposed of according

SECRET

to para. 4 of the above-mentioned agreement (16 Sept. 1950), according to which "You will be required to transfer the gross royalties to CIA..." (This agreement was also drafted by Mr. Kelley). There doesn't seem to be any difficulties of substance there.

There has been no decision on the size, format, etc. of the book. I mentioned that I had written Shub, mentioning that Simon & Schuster is able to offer its $3.95 FDR a Pictorial History —"260 photos with commentary"— at only $1.50 in cloth.

I said Shub had written some time ago that it would be a help to know the approximate number of photos as soon as possible, and Lyle said he of course agreed. He thought Shub and his collaborator should have something to show in, say, 30 days.

I mentioned that the "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK, when written up, which I will do shortly, will merely be a sub-Project of KMFUNNY, and will therefore require only Mr. Thompson's signature. Lyle queried whether it was necessary to make a formal project of it at all. I said that, for purposes of Status Reports, etc., it would be more or less necessary to have a formal title for it, and he agreed.

Shub has about 150 sterilized CIA Graphics photos, which we selected last summer. None of them could actually be printed, published, without a release from CIA Graphics. I therefore urged Munson to urge Shub to work up a good cover story about them, vis-a-vis his collaborator. Munson said he would advise him not to use them at all. (They are run-of-the-mine; they could all be duplicated with ease from agencies).

I told Munson that Mrs. Poland, of CIA Graphics (of whom he knows) had personally made an arrangement with Roy Larsen, whereby he supplies them with photos from Time-Life files, but not for publication. And that she had told me she is particularly anxious to do nothing that would undermine her relations with Time-Life.

We agreed that, if Shub's collaborator gets permission to use photos from Life's files in the book, it will still be a book being prepared for the overt SWEN Company, and that Life will not know the Government is involved. Munson thinks Shub is being very circumspect about all this.

WSS

JB III read fine!

SECRET

Dec. 18, 1950

Dear Boris,

Swell!!

I've phoned our friend and will be seeing him tomorrow morning.

I do hope something or other may bring me to New York —though there's no immediate prospect of it— as it would be great fun to foregather.

Incidentally, I expect to be in Boston the 4 days after Xmas, to get the benefit of the two Monday holidays.

Incidentally also, re sale on newsstands (which sounds fine) did you notice that S&S are able to offer FDR, a Pictorial Biography, which is 260 photos with captions and commentary, and is $3.95 in cloth, at only $1½ in paper?

J much pleased too.

Best regards,

Bill

December 14, 1950

Dear Bill:

This is just a brief note to give you the latest on the picture front. I won't fill you in on the details because our mutual friend will be in Washington early next week and will give you all the dope. Suffice it to say that my collaborator is one of the top layout men on Life ; one of those $25,000 per annum men. For the present xxxx he doesn't want his association with the picture book known to his employer for several good and compelling reasons. (including the fear that they would plagiarize the idea). But in the final stages he'll have to tell them in order to get their cooperation on digging into their files as well as their official permission for the use of his name as a collaborator. Needless to say, all of the above is a deep dark secret, but then what isn't these days? More important than all of the above is the fact that the gentleman in question, in addition to being a top flight picture man, is deeply interested in the subject and--miraculously--actually knows a great deal about it. I hope nothing happens to make him back down on his decision. Impossible to get anybody nearly as qualified. Our friend will fill you in on the rest: what remains to be done, how to do it, etc. xxxxx Of one thing you may be sure: If my collaborator stays with the project and if no act of God intervenes, the final product will be the picture book of all time. He wants to see it sold on newsstands among other places. xxxxxxxxxxxxxx

Are you planning to visit New York one of these days? If you do, please let me know. Very anxious for a chance to chew the fat in a leisurely fashion. Am losing touch with the mythical world in which you live. Best regards to the gang.

Boris

P.S. The $.35 edition of Lenin is ready. Goes on sale officially on Dec 22, but I notice that Columbia U. bookstore is already selling it ("Mentor [illegible]", New American Library)

18 [illegible] 36 III

SECRET

Nov. 17, 1950

MUNSON PHONED FROM NY. , 10 a.m.

He will phone Shub now. Perhaps they can lunch together. Munson "definitely wants" the photo-book. Is agreeable to whatever size, etc., we think it should be. Told him I had suggested to Shub that he proceed on an estimate of about 150 pages.

I forgot to mention Joe's suggestion that Simon & Schuster (which Joe says would be better than Doubleday, probably) might do the book in the US, with Swen to have the foreign rights. Will tell Lyle about that this weekend.

Munson comes to Washington this afternoon or evening. I will give him the KUFUNNY pictures this weekend.

WSS

See log-sheet, Nov. 17

SECRET

14-00000

Letter from Shub to Sims, Nov. 13, '50

filed in folder "SHUB, THE CHOICE"

See copy of it, above, in
Memo of 15 Jan. '51 to LST.

96 III

C-O-P-Y SECRET

1739 N St NW
Nov. 13, 1950

Dear Boris,

Many thanks for your excellent letter of the 13th, which I got this evening, and all the good news about "The Choice", which I'll share.

I'll try to clarify about our mutual friend / Munson / just as soon as I possibly can. Couldn't reach him all this evening. Maybe I can get him tomorrow morning. Will urge him to see you at the earliest and get it all clarified, as that will —as you say— be a great help. Meanwhile why not go ahead on an estimate of say 150 pp. Hope he can see you by Tuesday or at earliest thereafter.

Best regards
hastily

P.S.

Good about "Lenin" too.
And the Navy!
And the dual German edition!
And how right Matthew xiii, 57
was about prophets.

SECRET

Retain or Destroy

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

9 Nov. '50

DATE

TO: A.R. BRYAN

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

OK

[illegible]

FROM: WB

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 30-8

14-00000

CONF.

SECRET

9 Nov. 1950

KB

I queried Ray about how to send your letter to Shub, and he sterilized it and said it could go as sterilized. I will mail it this evening. Ray changed no matters of substance. (But the sentence about "we are pressed for full weekly reports" had to go out; the sterilized version of it wouldn't do the trick).

Re communicating with Shub. Ray says there is no OPC man in NY/OO. There may be one ~~latter~~ later. That NY/OO are not supposed to know SP details, and that, failing the OPC man there, the only means of regular communication with Shub are:

(1) fully sterilized letters thru ordinary mail (letters via OO would equally have to be sterilized)

(2) hand-carried letters

(3) personal contact

WSS

SECRET

14-00000

1698 32nd St., N. W.

Nov. 9, 1950

Dear Boris,

We are very anxious to have the photo-book finished as fast as possible. Handled as you alone can do it, this book will be one of the most effective shots that can be fired and we need it quick.

My understanding is that you are now engaged full time on it. Is that also your understanding? If so, please let me know (1) that the photo-book is your first concern, and (2) what progress you have made to date.

Again let me emphasize the great enthusiasm we have for the photo-book, and our complete confidence that it will have your own brilliant, informed and incisive touch when completed.

Joe
per
Bill

P.S.

Joe left town (till evening of the 12th) before I could discuss this with him. Please note his new address, as above.

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

9 Nov. '50
DATE

TO: Ray
BUILDING
ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Could this letter, to Shub, signed "Joe" be sent thru the ordinary mail? I imagine not. Who should I see here re arrangements for [illegible] communicating with Shub [illegible] via NY/00? Carpenter? Dillon? WBB

FROM:
ROOM NO.
EXTENSION
BUILDING

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

SECRET

9 Nov. 1950

~~xxxxxxxx~~

We are very anxious to have the ~~xxxx~~ photo-book finished as fast as possible. Handled as you alone can do it, this book will be one of the most ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ effective shots ~~we~~ that can be fired for ~~and~~ the cause the Better [illegible]. ~~My~~ understanding is that you are now engaged full time on ~~this project as your present assigned job with the corporation~~ it. Is that also your ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ understanding? If so, please let me know (1) that the photo-book is ~~now~~ your first concern, and (2) what progress you have made to date. [We need this information to study our financial needs in relation to the project] ~~reports of all jobs now on foot, we must include [illegible] your progress to justify & and continue the present financial arrangement.~~

Again, let me emphasize the great enthusiasm we have for ~~the product~~ photo-book, and our complete confidence that ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ it will have your own brilliant, ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ informed and incisive touch when completed.

No OPC man in NY/OO now: trying to get one

Ray says only way to handle it is
(1) fully sterilized, as above
OR
(2) hand-carry

NY/OO are not supposed to know SP details, so anything sent via OO [pending getting an OPC man up there] would have to be sterilized anyhow.

SECRET

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

8 Nov. '50

DATE

TO: Mr. Bryan

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

FF:

FROM: WBS.

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

R-E-D-R-A-F-T

6 Nov. 1950

TO SHUB

via NY/OO, hand-carried; who can keep this and any later letters for Shub to consult from time to time if necessary.
He can transmit periodic reports of progress via NY/OO. sterilized res direct.

Dear Boris,

Re your book. I went fully into the question of ordering copies, and it is clear that it is not policy anywhere to do anything official to promote the distribution of it. There is just nothing in the charter that would authorize officially promoting a book of that very wide scope, —except for limited internal circulation.

That leaves it, as I imagine you gathered at lunch the other day /with IST/ that you should work on it only during weekends and other free hours.

That in turn leaves the question of the current status of the "Stalin" biography and of the Stalin photo-book.

Re the photo-book. On the one hand, (1) Joe is very keen to get the photo-book finished as fast as possible, and (2) the friend who was mentioned to you at lunch the other day /Munson/ is interested in it, and (3) we have already got a good deal of it done, —the some 225 photos already on hand, etc. and (4) perhaps most important: it could be completed in less time than would be required to complete the biography.

/JBIII: I wrote him yesterday, when sending him the Pocle paper, to be particularly careful not to say anything at all to anyone about "the friend who was mentioned to you at lunch" (Munson)/

/JBIII: Please note the security angle in what follows. Also, the "Stalin" biography, in re project to have one or both Shubs complete the which I have the full file, has been batted around from Olmstead to Kelley

SECRET

to LST, and there is or was a contract with Vanguard.

First, I was instructed to draw up a Project to subsidize David Shub to complete the biography. Later I was told that Boris had been sent to NY, with instructions to complete it himself.

LST, a few days ago, told me he was under the impression that you had worked out arrangements with Boris in re the biography. But you haven't. Neither has Kelley, nor Kramer. And Bill Rowland (to whom LST referred me) knows of no one else in OPC from whom Shub should be receiving directives.

Therefore, let's take time to get it cleared up, on paper, what is the status of Shub pere et fils re "Stalin".

Re "Stalin" biography. On the other hand, we are not clear what is the current status of the biography, (1) do you have any written directives from us about it, and (2) what are your and your father's current obligations to Vanguard as to completing it?

An important question is: if you complete the photo-book first, are your obligations to Vanguard such that you would have security difficulty in explaining to them why, and on whose behalf, you were delaying two months (more or less) to finish it, before resuming work on the biography?

(esp. if Swan were to be the publisher)

Since the photo-book and the biography ~~have the same subject-matter~~ deal with, I suppose there is a bare possibility that you could work on the photo-book during "office" hours, while collaborating with your father on the biography evenings and weekends. But that does not seem a happy arrangement. We are called on for weekly Progress Reports, and Vanguard would be wanting to know what gives, and why. Much better to concentrate on one job at a time, and be under obligations to only one crowd at a time.

Status of the biography. As far as anyone here knows, you have only oral instructions to complete it. According to my rough notes of a talk we had July 31, you had a contract with Vanguard, July '49, calling for a book "by David & Boris Shub" to be completed March 1, 1950. And as of June 10, your father had had a $900 advance on it.

Would the copyright be in your name, or both? I think it would be

SECRET

simplest to have the actual copyright in your name alone (he could assign his share to you), so that any arrangements for foreign publication could be made with the minimum delay over the legal and security aspects.

If I got it right, as of July 31 you had about 100 pages in pretty much finished form, about 70-80 pages in rougher draft, plus Chapters IV & V the typescript of which was circulated here (and which I mailed back to you Oct. 5). Anyway, you thought there would have been an absolute minimum of 3 solid months more xxxx full-time work in it for your father. All in all, if you were working on it whole-time and your father part-time, would a minimum of 3 and maximum of ~~8~~ 6 be about the right estimate?

(It's so much better, and better reading, than the Deutscher, it ought to come out as soon as possible. Incidentally, have you considered that the "Atlantic" or "Harper's" might print chapters of it in advance? Chapters IV & V are certainly highly readable.)

Re completing photo-book. What time do you estimate it would take you, whole-time, to do a photo-book worth doing? (Say between 100 and 200 photos?). I should think an absolute minimum of a month, and much more likely 2 or 3 months in actual practice, wouldn't you?

You probably noted that "Life's WW II Picture History" occupied "the fused talents of 'Life's' entire photographic and editorial staff." XXXX But yours would be only 150 or 200 photos, and you have almost all the caption material in your head or on your desk, so perhaps, with a cooperative publisher and cooperative photo agencies, 2 or 3 months full-time work would do it?

SECRET

Please give all these details in writing, so we can make a decision. You could leave your carbon with NY/CO for safe-keeping, and arrange with them to consult it ~~frxx~~ when and if necessary. Fully sterilized letters, about details of work-in-progress, we can exchange direct.

The friend who was mentioned at lunch said he may be free to come and see you in a week or two. But please be extremely careful about mentioning him to anyone. He'll explain why that's important.

Best regards,

Bill

two carbons

SECRET

41

14-00000

Bill: ~~This is not what I want.~~ I want Shub to be told that we are paying hi to complete his picture book,* but we hear that he is merelym promoting The Choice. What are the facts? When will the picture book be finished? I also want you to devise a system whereby we can check Shub's progress. Lastly, we could never allow a letter like this one to go through the mails. In the wrong hands, it would be TNT.

JB3

*What about Stalin biography?

No. NY/00 1685.

8 Nov '50

SECRET

42

14-00000

D-R-A-F-T

7 Nov. 1950

To SHUB ny/00 6383

c/O LITAUER, who can keep this and subsequent letters in his safe, filed under HEADLEY, for Shub to consult from time to time, if necessary.
Sterilized letters, dealing with details of his work, I can exchange with him direct.

D-R-A-F-T

~~Dear Headley (pseudonym),~~

Dear Boris,

Re "The Choice". I hope the Overseas Press Club panel was a success. Nothing in the "NY Times" about it, but they don't usually write up those affairs. —I've seen nothing further in the "Post", ~~xxxx~~ since the mention in the ed I sent you; will send you anything I see.

I have a complete file, "The Choice", here, with all the reviews, etc. in it. I went fully into the question of ordering copies, and it is clear that it is not policy anywhere to promote the distribution of it (or for that matter, equally clearly, any other book). After all, if the head man himself / Bedell Smith / had written "The Choice", there is nothing in his official charter that would authorize him to promote it in his official capacity; on the contrary. Nothing anywhere against you personally or the book; it's just that there is no policy to promote any book of that wide scope.

Therefore, as I imagine you gathered at lunch the other day / with IST / work in connection with "The Choice" should be during weekends and other free time.

I hope Winchell's mention of it, and the good "NY Times" review, etc., will help sales, and that if it hasn't gotten off to a fast ~~step,~~ start it will develop as a ~~"creeper".~~ "sleeper"

SECRET

4

Re "Stalin" biography and/or Stalin photo-book.

That leaves the question whether you are supposed to be working on completion of the "Stalin" biography or on the Stalin photo-book, or on both. What is your own preference?

On the one hand, (1) Joe is anxious to get the photo-book done, and (2) the friend who was mentioned to you at lunch the other day / Linson / is interested in it, and (3) we have already made a beginning on it, and, perhaps most important, (4) it could be completed in less time than would be required to complete the biography.

(Incidentally, please be particularly careful not to say anything to anybody about the publisher who was mentioned at lunch. /Swen/. It could raise a really first-class stink. / Linson thinks other publishers would raise hell if they found out the Government had gone into competition with them /. Very important).

On the other hand, what are your and your father's current obligations ~~xx~~ to Vanguard, in re the Stalin biography, and would you have security difficulty in explaining to Vanguard why and on whose behalf you were taking two months (more or less) to do the photo-book, before resuming work on the biography? If so, that might be an argument for completing the biography first.

~~Xxxxxxxx~~ Please give me all relevant details as to the current status with Vanguard. As far as anyone here knows, you have only oral instructions to complete the biography. According to my rough notes of a talk we had July 31, you had a contract with Vanguard, July '49, calling for a book "by David & Boris Shub" to be completed March 1, 1950. And as of June 10, 1950 your father had had a $900 advance on it.

The copyright would be in your name, or in your father's also? I think

SECRET

it would be simplest to have ~~them~~ it in yours alone from the start (or he could assign his to you), so that arrangements for foreign publication / ~~perhaps by Swan~~ / could be made with the minimum delay ~~fooling~~ over the legal and security aspects.

If I got it right, as of July 31st you had about 100 pages in pretty much finished form, about 70-80 pages in rougher draft, plus Chapters IV & V the typescript of which was circulated here (and which I mailed back to you Oct. 5). Anyway, you thought there would have been an absolute minimum of 3 solid months more work in it for your father. All in all, assuming you were working on it whole-time, would a minimum of 3 and maximum of 8 months be about right? (It's so much better, and so much better reading, than the Deutscher, I think we ought to get it out as soon as possible. Incidentally, have you considered that the "Atlantic" or "Harper's" might print chapters of it in advance? Chapters IV & V are certainly highly readable).

What time do y ou estimate it would take you, whole-time, to do a photo-book worth doing? (Say between 100 and 200 photos?). I should think an absolute minimum of a month, and much more likely 2 or 3 months in actual practice, wouldn't you?) I have been keeping a file of everything done in the photo-book line, such as "Life's Picture History of World War II" and "The Life of F.D.R. in Pictures", and note that/the former occupied "the fused talents of <u>Life's</u> entire photographic and editorial staff" to produce ~~the~~ the 1,000 photos of. Yours would be only 150 or 200 photos, and you have almost all the caption material in your head or on your desk, so perhaps, with a cooperative publisher and cooperative photo agencies, 2 or 3 months hard work would do it?

SECRET

I have written you care of Littauer, whom we have asked to keep a file for you, of letters of this sort —and you could deposit carbons of your replies if necessary with him— which you could consult when and if necessary.

Sterilised letters, ~~[illegible]~~ about details of work-in-progress, we can exchange direct.

The friend who was mentioned at lunch said he may be free to come and see you in a week or two. But please be extremely careful about mentioning him to anyone. He'll explain why that's important.

Best regards,

Bill

two carbons

Has Littauer a safe?

4/

SECRET

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SL[illegible]

6 Nov. '50
DATE

TO: ~~CSP~~ [illegible]

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

F.Y.I.

JBIII and I are writing to him.

[initials]

FROM: W.S.S.

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

6 Nov. 1950

MR. THOMPSON.

Re: Boris Shub

(1) Bill Rowland says that, as far as he knows, Shub is not under the direction of anyone except CSP.

(2) Shub is a covert "contract agent". His contract runs until 1st Dec. 1951.

W.S.S.
WSS

cc: Mr. Thompson
for file "Stalin photo-book"

SECRET

3 Nov. '50

"USSR IN CONSTRUCTION", #12

XX WSS wrote on cover sheet of date 30 Oct. '50, from I/IS:
"SP/TW/Sims would like to see material such as this, and if possible would like to have a copy of "USSR en Construction".#12, 1949.

The latter is the handsomely got out, printed in Moscow, #12, 1949 issue, dealing with the xx 70ty bday of Stalin. A lot of idealized paintings of Stalin with Lenin et al; the house where he was born, his activs in 1905, in Georgia ; in 1917, etc.

(We cd live without it, however).

The mags were shipped to the Sov Legation in Havana. It may be possible to get similar publications in the future. Request interest be indicated. SP/IS also expressed interest.

Attachments must be returned to OSO by 17 Nov.

The other attachment is big mag "SOVIET UNION", #5, July '50.

14-00000

CONFIDENTIAL

30 Oct. '50

SECRET

MR. THOMPSON

(1) I just phoned Shub and asked him to get in touch with you at the Biltmore around 9 a.m. Thursday, in re having lunch with you.

(2) His phone is ACademy 2-0164, 510 West 110th St.

(3) re "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK. I wrote him Oct. 18: "Please don't approach any publishers until you hear more. Another very helpful possibility has come up."

He was understandably puzzled, and I couldn't explain it over the phone. Could y ou please explain to him it means: Don't approach Simon & Schuster or other publishers because SWEN PUBLICATIONS, INC. is much interested in doing the book.

WSS.

SECRET

Books of The Times

19 Oct. '50.

By CHARLES POORE

"LIFE'S Picture History of World War II"* is decorated with salvos of interpretative prose by John Dos Passos. "The Prospect Before Us"† is a wide-ranging, deeply pondered discussion of what's going on in the world and what may loom, by John Dos Passos. Our main guide this morning, then, is Mr. Dos Passos, as we look at the embattled present, future and past.



John Dos Passos

In ordinary life when you are being shown through picture galleries, you sometimes get so interested that you lose sight of your guide. And much the same sort of thing happens while Mr. Dos Passos is leading you through "Life's Picture History of World War II." There are fields and towns and seas and beaches that may interest you, for personal reasons, far more than they can ever interest many other people. You stop and look again and again at these, in the Mediterranean, the North Atlantic or the South Pacific, say, and let the rest of the party, guided by Mr. Dos Passos, go on.

The whole book, though, is a magnificent and impressive performance. It will probably become our day's equivalent of the Brady Civil War albums, unless someone finds a better way to keep a planetary conflict in human scale. Hundreds of black and white prints are supplemented with maps and color plates of photographs—and dozens of those curiously immaculate war paintings.

The seas churn, the continents blaze, the new, improved, economy-size superhomogenized Bikini bomb raises its cauliflower head. But the measure of it all is man. The measure of it all is a submariner reporting by intercom from the engine room. An American citizen dead on a Leipzig balcony where he fell, covering the Second Infantry's advance across a bridge. An Englishman called Tedder giving a light to an American called Spaatz. A German called Rommel who hit our side so frequently and so hard in North Africa that we are apparently hell-bent on endowing him, posthumously, with supernatural powers.

Pictures Not to Be Forgotten

There is a picture of the beaches of Namur on Kwajalein atoll that you won't soon forget. The air seems to be made of the substance of death. There is a picture of Nazi troops—garrison troops, at that—goose-stepping through the Arc de Triomphe that you won't want to remember. There are pictures of Japanese suicide planes, late in the war, coming in on American ships that should be printed with all articles explaining how completely we had beaten the enemy long before the Enola Gay sailed over Hiroshima.

One of the most dramatic pictures in the book shows half a page of a typewritten letter. Man named Einstein is writing a man named Roosevelt, on Aug. 2, 1939. The letter begins: "Sir: Some recent work by E. Fermi and L. Szilard, which has been communicated to me in manuscript, leads me to expect that the element uranium may be turned into a new and more important source of energy in the immediate future. * * *" The free world's "immediate future" has been immeasurably lenghtened because Einstein wrote that letter.

Winston Churchill, who is writing the greatest continued story of our day, said in THE NEW YORK TIMES last Thursday that "it is easier to infuriate Americans than to cow them." He was speaking of the havoc the U-boats made along our coasts in 1942, when the war came very close to America, as you can see by this book's picture of an American tanker torpedoed off the Jersey shore. You can also apply Churchill's observation to many other pictures, particularly those of the black days after Pearl Harbor. The book's last shot shows a combat veteran who might be in Korea today. The final text by Mr. Dos Passos is: "The Pacific phase of the second of the world wars of the bloody twentieth century had ended, but its ending brought no peace."

In his own new book, "The Prospect Before Us," which contains stuff he first wrote for Life and for Harper's Magazine, Mr. Dos Passos expands on that. He takes us all over the wartime and post-war map, to Akron and Argentina, England and Brazil, Lima and Kansas City. He arranges his bursting briefcases full of material into a series of lectures complete with hecklers and other askers of penetratingly troublesome questions, that become light-heavyweight bouts with the leading problems of the world. What shall we do about capitalist cartels and Communist trusts? How can the institutions of democracy be safeguarded in a world where security is in short supply? What must we do to be saved? Little man, little world, there's little time. The battle is still on.

Lessons at Hand Everywhere

If we want to get a notion of the price of failure, Mr. Dos Passos says, "all we have to do is to visit the ruins of Berlin or to imagine the lives men live in Prague or Bucharest or Moscow." If we want to get an inkling of the cost of survival, all we have to do is to read Mr. Dos Passos' recollections of his wartime experiences in Britain. And now they've passed from their ordeal by fire to what Mr. Dos Passos calls their "ordeal by government." At all points he maintains his faith in man. Free man.

All over the world he chats easily with men and women of all degrees. There seems to be a breezy and unconstrained flowering of Mr. Dos Passos when he leaves New York. In Coon Rapids, Iowa, he drops into a coffee shop and finds that "Bob Garst was sitting in his accustomed corner laughing like he'd split about the difficulties of getting seed corn detasseled." In Peru a puffing fellow says: "A curious thing about Lima * * * the only history that has remained in our minds * * * is that candlelit colonial romance of the aged viceroy and the actress La Perricholi."

That "candlelit" romance, as a matter of fact, had such far-reaching influences that it eventually led to the broadening of the Pulitzer Prize conditions, so the 1928 decoration could go to Thornton Wilder's novel about La Perricholi, "The Bridge of San Luis Rey."

**LIFE'S PICTURE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II. Edited by Arthur B. Tourtellot. Picture editor, Francis Brennan. Text by John Dos Passos, and others. 368 pages. Simon & Schuster. $10.*

†THE PROSPECT BEFORE US. By John Dos Passos. Illustrated by Waldo Peirce[?]. 371 pages. Houghton Mifflin. $3.75.

18 Oct. 1950

Air-mail to SHUB

Please don't approach any publishers until you hear more. Another very hopeful possibility has come up. #

Adele is here and says to send you her love.

As D-day approaches we trust you are taking aspirin every hour on the hour. Best regards and sympathy to Libby.

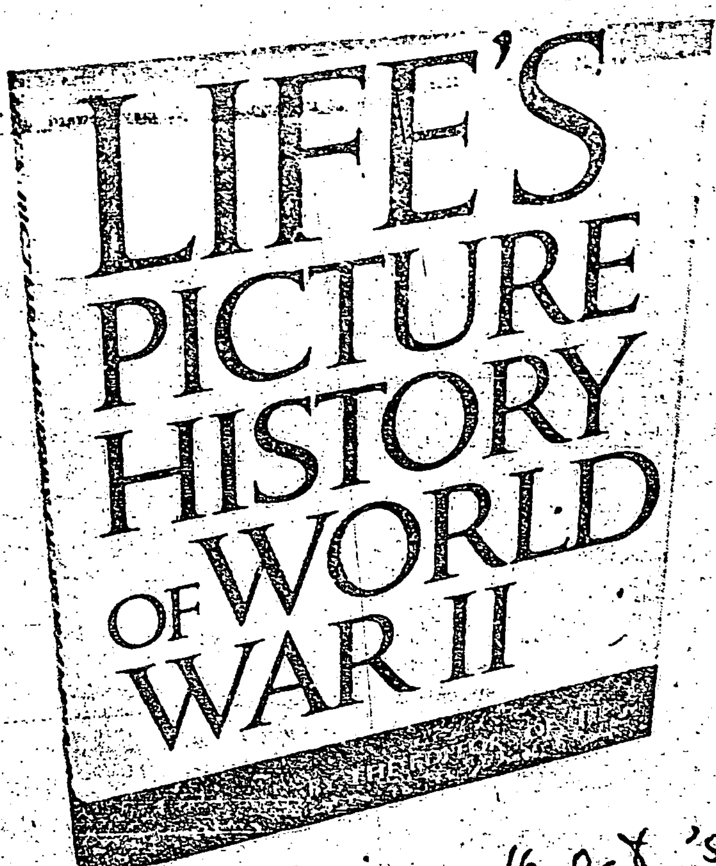
Bill

Possibility that Swen publications will publish the "Stalin" PHOTO-BOok, initially in the U.S. and/or in the foreign editions.

47

SECRET

14-00000



16 Oct '50

THE fused talents of LIFE'S entire photographic and editorial staff have gone into this superb new kind of history book. It contains nearly 1000 photographs, paintings, maps, many in color, and 75,000 words of brilliant narrative by John Dos Passos, Robert Sherrod, and others. Foreword by Henry R. Luce.

The first printing of this monumental book is one half million copies; the size 10" x 14"; the weight, approximately 6 lbs. Each copy comes in its individual carton. Price $10 a copy; deluxe edition $12. At all bookstores. —SIMON AND SCHUSTER

LIFE's PICTURE HISTORY OF WORLD WAR II (Time, Inc.: Simon & Schuster, $10, de luxe edition $12). A thousand pictures and 80,000 words of text.

TIME: Mid-Century Edition, 1900-1950 (Year, Inc., [illegible]). A record of fifty years in 1,000 pictures and 100,000 words.

Oct. 16, '50

for QUARTERLY REPORT

SECRET

6 Oct. '50

KMFURTY: This project is to produce a book of animal photos with satirical anti-Communist captions for publication in France. It is being developed with the assistance of Clarence A. Barnes, author of the best-selling "Home Sweet Zoo" and other photo-books. Twenty-one captioned photos have been submitted to a French publisher, who has indicated willingness to ~~xxxxxxxx~~ publish. These photos have been recalled, so that a final selection may be made from among them and 59 further photos ~~xxxxx~~ supplied by Mr. Barnes. If the French edition is successful, editions in other areas are contemplated. $6,000 has been allotted to publishing this book, with approximately $600 obligated to date; and an additional $40,000 has been set aside for publishing similar books. ~~xx~~ / Earliest publishing date 6 weeks; latest estimated at Jan. 1, 1951 /. If there are editions in other countries, this project will be active for more than one year, and it may be necessary to subsidize the publishers in order to obtain the desired distribution.

1885

KM KNOT

SECRET

for QUARTERLY REPORT

SECRET 6 Oct. '50

RE [illegible] "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK PROJECT

This project, which will be a sub-project of KUFIRMY, has not been formally drafted, but is being developed. The project is to prepare and publish in the U.S. a book of photos and text on the career of Stalin, with the expectation of very widespread foreign distribution to follow. Mr Robert M. Headley, CIA contract agent, is at work on the book; more than 200 photos have been assembled; a legal agreement concerning copyright and royalties between CIA and Headley was signed Sept. 16. Cost of 150 photos at $6 would be $900; any profit in the form of royalties will be returned to CIA.

~~John~~ Shields: there has already been some expense for (a) travel by Snowden to NY to take contract to Headley for signing, and (b) about $150 paid to Headley's agents to pay the agencies for photos obtained, and (c) $100/down payment to them for their services in obtaining.

1585

SECRET

SECRET 8 Oct. 1950

for QUARTERLY REPORT (?)

Re; the bit listed as #5 (No name).

As far as I know this is not, and probably never will be, technically a Project.

As far as I know Headley is just under instructions from 157, —as soon as he has finished work on the Stalin photo-book— to complete his biography of Stalin.

W88

SECRET

secret

SECRET

For Dawson, for
QUARTERLY PROGRESS REPORT

5 Oct. '50

"STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK PROJECT (to be named KMKNOUT)

Is a project for preparation of a book of photographs-plus-text on the career of Stalin.

When formally written up, it will be titled KMKNOUT, and will be a sub-project of [illegible], requiring only the approval of IST.

Some photographs have been assembled, from CIA Graphics and from agencies in N.Y., and a legal agreement has been drafted and signed, between CIA and ~~Richard~~ Robert H. HEADLEY (pseudonym for B.S.), who will prepare the book for publication in the U.S. under his own name, retaining the copyright, which (together with royalties) he will assign to CIA.

Mr. Headley is now working on the book. It is planned that, after publication in the U.S., there will be editions (some perhaps subsidized) in many foreign areas.

[illegible]

I assume you have the details on this.

EXRADIO

I am listed as responsible for this, but know nothing about it. (I am going to look at the file today). Ray Millard and IST know about it.

"STALIN" BIOGRAPHY

This, I believe, is not technically a project. But I understand that Robt. H. HEADLEY, ~~xxxx~~ contract agent, has instructions from IST, after finishing the "Stalin" photo-book, to complete a biography of Stalin, for publication in the U.S. under his own name, with the expectation of foreign editions to follow.

WSS

SECRET

51

6 Oct. 1950

Re PHOTO: of a panel of distinguished literary figures, artists, musicians, etc., who have been banned in USSR, are exiles, and/or became disillusioned with the "Soviet experiment".

Dateline Berlin, Aug. 16, '50. The West Berlin "Volksblatt" reports that the SED has forbidden the works of the following to appear in official entertainment programs or in public libraries in the East Zone:

Andre GIDE: "an enemy of the Soviet Union"

Ignace PADEREWSKI: "a Polish reactionary chauvinist and enemy of the Soviet Union"

Igor STRAVINSKY: "implacable enemy of the Soviet Union"

Arturo TOSCANINI: "rootless, with Western tendencies" (!!)

R. M. RILKE: whose work is "sterile and unpopular"

Stefan GEORGE: "a decadent dreamer and champion of the Germanistic infallibility myth"

Jean-Paul SARTRE

Musicians

To what extent any or all of them left the USSR for primarily political reasons I don't know (do you), but taken in all, with the caption pointing out "It can't be a coincidence that all these men preferred to get away from and stay away from the USSR", they wd make an impressive gallery:

STRAVINSKI	RACHMANINOV	KOSTELANETZ
HOROWITZ	KOUSSEVITSKY	KURTZ
ELMAN	BARER	MEDTNER (?)
HEIFETZ	BRAILOWSKY	MILSTEIN
GOLSCHMANN?(b.Paris)	GARBOUSOVA	MOISEIVICH

PIATIGORSKY SEVITZKY STERN ZIMBALIST

ETC. ETC.

Photo: of MVD officer, or 6 Oct. 1950

Photo: PIROGOV (as on the cover of his book; Duell, Sloan)

Caption: a quote from him, such as (from the jacket of the book):

"The Soviet major and the American colonel personified two worlds, two worlds between which I was to choose.

"One was my country where everything was infinitely dear to me: her breadth, her limitless abundance, her simple, kindly folk who can sing in times of sorrow as in times of joy.. Scores of friendly faces flashed across my mind, scores of people I should never see again.

"But then all of that was blanketed in mist and all I saw was the sleek mask of the Soviet major sitting across from me. The cold, rigid features expressed all I detested: cruelty, contempt for the sufferings of others, the fear and sham of everyday life, the cheerless toil, and the perennial threat of tyranny..

"The alternative was an alien America where I should be a stranger,.. but where I should at least be free..

"But I did know that I could no longer live in the land of my birth, live as a slave among slaves, conscious of my impotence to help them or myself.."

Comment: this quote could of course be pruned, retaining little more than the underlined bits.

Here is text which, joined to a photo of a particularly repellent MVD type, will do something to put across how the MVD is detested.

/ Sure, he's an anti-Stalinist, but that's Stalin's fault, not ours. You could add, if it seems necessary, as he and Ada Siegel point out, that there are thousands like him, and the only reason we don't hear from them is that it's a rare & lucky & plucky man who has a plane handy for escape./

14-00000

6 Oct. 1950

?? Photo of TROTSKY and/or LENIN

Caption: quote from Trotsky's letter to Chkeidze, 1913, describing Lenin as "this professional exploiter of all the backwardness in the Russian working class movement." (BS manuscript, p. 120).

Comment: several photos and quotes of this sort to expose the myth of one-big-happy-family life among the Communists, whole-souled in their adoration of Big Brother. A Trotsky quote such as the above could be used in conjunction with the Stalin quote on the "ordinariness" of Lenin, and the Lenin quote on the "roughness" of Stalin. And throw in two or three more and you have a striking (and amusing) little

Section on: the Politburo as just a Band of Brothers, happy home life among the Communists; the CC (circa 1924, anyway) a snake-pit; band of backbiters and backstabbers

3 x 2 equals 6 photos would give an exhibit of each of the three Lenin, Stalin, Trotsky backbiting each of the others.

Then these could be followed with the photo of Trotsky ~~as~~ dead after stabbing bt Stalin's assassin, which in turn could be followed (or the whole preceded by) photo of Dostoevsky with the quote:

"Brothers will begin to cut each other's heads off in order to obtain brotherhood".

14-00000

6 Oct. 1950

?? Photo of DOSTOEVSKY

Caption: an appropriate quote from him.

Orville Prescott reviews "Fyodor Dostoevsky" by R. Fulop-Miller, 137 pp., $2., Scribners, in "Ny Times", Oct. 6, and quotes:

"Brothers will begin to cut each other's heads off in order to obtain brotherhood... It is madness to want to bring about a new era and a new humanity by sacrificing a hundred million heads..."

He says there are "many amazing prophecies...of the tyranny of the totalitarian state."

I imagine you have read most of Dostoevsky, and would know other quotes as good as or better than the above.

JH

6 Oct. 1950

In re: How many pictures?

"NY Times" b ook page says "THE PICTURE STORY OF FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT" By Gene Schoor, which will be issued Nov. 7 by Frederick Fell, will contain

125 illustrations with
20,000 words of text.

This is evidently a second FDR photo-book, and will be competing with the SIMON & SCHUSTER (Simon Legree & Schuster) one by Stefan Lorant, "The Life of FDR in Photographs and Text".

55

Letter from Shub to Sims, 26 Sept, 1959:

"...On the picture book: I am following your idea of trying to get a working draft done myself, with a clear story and a tentative arrangement of pictures, before calling in a collaborator. I am going to need many more pictures than I now have to do a real job. Please continue to forward any suggestions you may have, as well as any picture material you encounter."

SECRET

14-00000

File [illegible]

A third volume of Rooseveltiana will be published in a period of a month when Frederick Fell will issue on [illegible] "The Picture Story of Franklin Delano Roosevelt," by Gene Schoor. It will contain 125 illustrations with 20,000 words of text. On Sept. 29 Duell, Sloan & Pearce published Frank Kingdon's "As F. D. R. Said: A Treasury of His Speeches, Conversations and Writings." Beacon Press issued on Sept. 27 "The Wit and Wisdom of Franklin D. Roosevelt," edited by Maxwell Meyersohn with the collaboration of Adelle Archer.

14-00000

:o Boris SHUB 28 Sept. 1950

Just FYI

"As Russia Sees It", MARCH OF TIME, Aug. 1950

Presents an analysis of the world situation today, from the viewpoint of the Kremlin. It evaluates the opportunities for conquest as Stalin and his henchmen see them, and shows why the Soviets chose to take action now in Korea rather than elsewhere.

It also shows how the U.S. is meeting the challenge in Korea: the mobilization of manpower and industry; the reactivation of planes, tanks, and ships laid up since the end of WW II; and the actions which the US is taking with other members of the UN to check permanently the aggressions of Stalin and his Communist satellites.
Running time about 22 minutes.

Of course through someone such as Jensen, Time and/or Life could provide stills from this.

14-00000

25 Sept. 1950

[To Shub]

As you probably saw in yesterday's "N. Y. Times Book Review", SIMON & SCHUSTER will be the publishers this fall of "The Life of FDR in Photographs and Text" (sic) by Stefan Lorant, and of "LIFE's Picture History of World War II."

Also Boris Shub has a book coming out on "the cold war and propaganda".

Are you sending complimentary copies to Drew Pearson and to Bernard Baruch? The latter's recent article in "Look" had a sentence or two faintly, but only faintly, along the lines of "the choice."

If you have a copy to spare, why not send one to Gen. Wedemeyer, c/o Pentagon; he's the one who maintains the first sine qua non is to have a political policy.

[Sima]

14-00000

19 Sept. '50

Re your MS. P is in bed with some kind of fever. He got Dick today to take the MS to Floyd McCaffery, chief of research for Republican Nat'l C'ee, who will give it to the Col. Fellers who wrote the "How to Beat the Russians" article in the current "Colliers".

Elliston (Washington Post) has had the MS, at any rate of the last chapter. P rang Kay Halle, his sec'y, to ask her to tell him it should get all possible publicity.

Don't worry too much (except in your capacity as a tax-payer, etc.!) about the sales. One Elliston reading it means more than the thousands reading the "Worlds in Collision" tripe,—which even Churchill can't dislodge from #1 on the Best Seller list.

Re photo-book. Please keep such screeds as I sent, for any possible future cross-reference.

They are mainly grains of sand dropped in to contribute to the production of the pearls. (That simile seems better, the more you think of it, don't you think?).

Re Slave-labor: J suggests possible use, lacking photos, of drawings such as the enclosed from Sept. 18 NY Times Book Review by Korolkov (Stalin Prize Winner!) and said to be artist of very high calibre. Don't throw it away. Wait & see. A number of his drawings appeared in Life a year or two ago; I've seen them, but there is no clue to the date, so you'd have to ask Life.

Important: J says "Ask Littauer to tell Jensen about it". Of course Littauer will know to what extent you can sound out two different publishers simultaneously, should you already have approached Doubleday or another.

Jensen's still being on Life ("leave of absence") sounds fine, but Littauer will know whether he (Picture Press) could handle production & advertising as well as Doubleday?

Scratch my stuff about a possible Hiss photo in my screed of Sept. 15; had no time to proof-read it.

Enclosed what look to me offhand 3 or 4 highly possible quotes from Karamev & Zinoviev, from frontispiece of Murder in Mexico.

Think that Korolkov idea is worth keeping in mind. You could play up the angle: there are no photos, and they bleat about the "worker's paradise" and refuse all UN inspection committees, make survivors swear to say nothing about the camps. It is Joe's fault there are no photos on this page, but this gives an inkling of what it's like, etc.

Korolkov being a Stalin prize-winner adds greatly, it seems to me.

Item. Photo of SHOSTAKOVICH, name familiar in every country, with just as caption the three lines of his abject, comical recantation. Bedell Smith's book, p. 298. You could also quote PROKOFIEV.

Thanks for postcard. Best regards.

19 Sept. '50

Photo DMITRI SHOSTAKOVICH

Caption: "I know that the party is right, that the party wishes me well, and that I must search for and find creative paths which lead me to Soviet realistic popular art."

Why shouldn't there be photos also of PROKOFIEV and KHACHATURIAN, world names, much more living than Zinoviev et al, with as captions quotes from the incredible "resolution" by the Central Committee, condemning the "degenerate, formalistic, bourgeois" music, Bedell Smith pp.296-8.

If you were given complete license to invent anti-Stalin material on the fate of the Arts in the USSR, how could you better this?

Will send brief suggested quotes from those pages shortly.

Excerpts from "Murder in Mexico" by General Leandro A. Sanchez Salazar, Ex-Chief of Secret Service of the Mexican Police with the collaboration of Julian Gorkin, London, Secker & Warburg, 1950.

XX

"To choose the victim, carefully prepare the blow, satisfy an implacable vengeance, then go to bed. . . There is nothing sweeter in the world."
(Stalin to Dzerjinski and Kamenev in the course of a conversation held in the spring of 1923.)

"You think that Stalin is worrying himself trying to find a reply to your arguments? You are mistaken. He is only considering in what manner he can suppress you without danger to himself."
(Kamenev to Trotsky in 1923.)

"He would have got rid of you at any moment since 1924 if he had not feared reprisals from the youth section in the form of terrorist activities. That is why Stalin has decided to start by destroying the framework of the opposition and then to kill you afterwards, when he is sure of being able to do so with impunity."
(Zinoviev to Trotsky in 1925.)

"If we die suddenly, let it be known that it is the work of Stalin."
(Zinoviev and Kamenev in letters placed in safe keeping after their rupture with Stalin in 1925.)

123

Lev Davidovitch invited Joe, who was near to me, to write in his notebook what was, I learned later, his farewell to life: "I am sure of the triumph of the Fourth International. Forward!"

207

The working-class writer, Ciliga, after having worked several years in the U.S.S.R., has called it "the country of the great lie."

14-00000

Time, Sept. 11, 1950

"...interpretation of Stalin's personality, doctrines and aims are pregnant with tragic misunderstandings between Americans and the Russian people— the best potential ally in the struggle for freedom.

"The Russian people were the first victims of the totalitarian yoke. They dream not of expansionism but only of the restoration of human freedom...As to Stalin, he "spits" as Lenin once said, on Russian interests, because Russia must merely be "used as a base for world revolution."

"Stalin...and all his international henchmen fanatically believe that 'the capitalist system as a whole is already ripe for revolution.' They fanatically believe, as Lenin proved, that 'the importance of war as a midwife of Revolution can scarcely be exaggerated'..."

Alexander Kerensky

I imagine the "spits" is a correct quote from Lenin, but referring to someone else (perhaps himself) rather than to Stalin. J. was wondering.

6

15 Sept. 1950

TO BORIS SHOB.

Just thinking out loud. If you care to call it thinking. Call it "revolt in the provinces", "Trotskyist deviationism" if you like. But don't let it upset your digestion.

This will be a wonderful book. Really well done, it should sell several hundred thousands in the U.S. alone (and Canada). At $1 the 3 "Zoo" books sold 700,000-plus. Even at $2.50 or $3., --I very much doubt that you could do the job as it should be done for $1-- it should have a big sale. There is a crying need for it, in the U.S. alone. It is almost fantastic that there hasn't long since been a "Stalin-in-pictures" book. (But then there was no "Life", to parallel the "London Illustrated News" until circa 1932). There is a great thirst for really readable, believable information on what makes Stalin and the USSR tick. You are ideally set to fill it.

Just tell the story of "Stalin" (the biog) in pictures, --with as much wordage as is necessary and no more. The sovereign virtue of photos is that people who wouldn't crack a book of solid print will read a page or half page of print, if need be, if there's a photo alongside it. (Cf. the book "The Photographs of Lincoln", where I found myself reading the entire printed parts, which I wouldn't have bought nor read without the photos). Let's add to your favorite axiom, "The Best Photograph tells its Own Story" the corollary "An arresting photo will carry reader-interest for quite a bit of caption".

"THE STORY OF JOSEPH STALIN". Just tell the story. What he did. What he is doing. Properly done, that will leave the reader with the feeling of revulsion & distrust as to what he will do next; "Who sups with the devil must have a long spoon".

All the world loves a story. And what a story this is. As a reviewer of Deutscher said (the "NY Times", I think) "After all, it's the 'success' story of the 20th Century. From cobbler's cottage ~~xxx~~ to the Kremlin where he is

still pulling the wool over the eyes of an aimed-at 400 million signers of a Petition in the name of "peace" (with the largest standing army in the world's history) and mouthing "democracy" (while holding down more than 15,000,000 slave laborers in his own country alone). And your readers won't learn (millions of 'em don't know) he has more than 15,000,000 slave laborers unless you tell them. Not screaming at the top of your voice, --but tell them. And no harm in giving the figure "15,000,000" more than once, if it proves convenient. Repetition is no sin.

In fact repetition can be dandy. Witness the world-wide best seller (second only to the Bible,(a mighty repetitive book itself) Andersen's fairy tales. Plenty of repetition in them. If the ah story is good, the theme gripping, the reader laps up the repetition: if the Wicked Uncle is wicked, it's more than OK to keep on saying (or, in your case, showing) it. And you've certainly got a story, and the Uncle is wicked. Let's show it, by any and every truthful means that doesn't detract from readability.

Re Repeition. I'm sure there is a lot in what J says. That when you are writing for mass readership, you ought to use a good deal of repetition: "I am going to tell you the story of how......So here is the story.....So that was the story." After all, that is the time-tested fairy story technique, and they are the world's best sellers.

So why should we shy away from (a) repetition, or (b) calling the spade the spade, dotting the i's and crossing the t's. If you don't/cross your t's pretty vigorously & regularly, a lot of woolly-minded readers are going to have a breathing space in which to say: "Still, he had his dear old mother up to stay with him in the Kremlin, so there must be some good in the man; and Byrnes (a Catholic) writes that he is undeniably a 'likable' fellow." Of course, y ou will an ticipate & counteract that with photos of Big Brother accepting bouquets from schoolgirls, juxtaposed with photos showing Big Brother in a ..

much less hap y light.

The Uncles were Wicked, and Grimm said so. Stalin is history's greatest slave-master. Say so. It's not an adjective. It's a fact. Throw the book at him. Dallin. Kravchenko. Pirogov. Anything and/or everything that it takes to ram home the fact. If you can do it without Kravchenko or any other "avowed anti-Stalinist" so much the better, I entirely agree. But let's do it. Stalin keeps the 15,000,000 hidden, so we've got few photos. So if you have to use a photo of a few slave-laborers and caption that "there are millions like them", OK. Or use a "There is all this smoke, and it's because there is all this fire" argument, OK. I.e., if you have to use the cumulative technique of quoting a few sentences from Tchernavin and Dallin and Kravchenko and any others, let's do it. The fact of the slave-camps has got to be in there. If it isn't made credible y ou haven't told the story.

For example, re-read "Seeds of Treason". Chambers says that what made the scales fall from his eyes was "I SPEAK FOR THE SILENT" by Tchernavin. (I've never read it, and had forgotten it; you'll do no harm if you mention it somewhere. Of course Tchernavin is an anti-Stalinist). If that was good enuf for Chambers, it should be good for other CP readers, even, too.

What I'm getting at is: I DON'T ~~XXXXXXXX~~ CRAMP YOUR STYLE BY ARBITRARILY RULING OUT THE USE OF "ANTI-STALINIST" WITNESSES. Let the motto be: ANY truthful means that tell's Stalin's story is OK. He made the story, we didn't. It's his fault if you have to say: Pirogov was only one airman who escaped, and a mere lieutenant, but there are thousands like him.

PIROGOV. Just a random suggestion, but I see no reason of principle why you shouldn't have, say: Photo of Stalin, sounding off about the worker's paradise, juxtaposed with Photo of Pirogov (a nice clean-cut looking type, smiling), and a quote from Pirogov (he's definitely eloquent, as you say) to the effect that he didn't like to leave his native land, but couldn't stick

it living "as a slave among slaves". Cf. Ada Siegel, to the effect (in Preface) that there are thousands like him ("The Choice") and he is unusual only in that he had few close living relatives, and a plane, and enterprise.

If it could be done without the Pirogovs & Kravchenkos, fine. But I'm sure you'll find when you chain yourself to your desk and start sweating blood over it that you just can't do justice to (a) SLAVE-LABOR and (b) MVD's EVERYBODY-IN-DANGER with just a photo of Beria, —even if he looked like a two-headed baby in a bottle. I just don't see how it can begin to do justice to the subject. It wasn't any photo (though his first sight of Rykov in the flesh shook him badly) that took the scales from Chambers eyes, but the Tchernavin story.

Also he was shaken by (a minor news item in the New Masses) the proof that the Kremlin were liars, bent on systematic, petty denigration of Trotsky. Anything —preferably out of their own mouths, as you say— that builds the THEY ARE LIARS theme is good.

There is so much to choose from, and it seems to me that repetition is so good and, probably, so necessary, that I should say, as you do, that a $1 book couldn't do the job. "White Collar Zoo" is 80 pages in all, of which 74 pages have photos. 74 photos won't be enuf, by a long shot. The story is so absorbing, properly told, that 150 or more photos wouldn't be a bit too much. Ask K what about the economics of "The Cardinal", where Simon & Schuster got out more than 400 pages of close print for only $1, with paper cover. Perhaps we could get by for $2.50, if they felt assured of a large sale. And why shouldn't there be a large sale. You've got the real dirt on Stalin, and the prestige of "Lenin". Give them "Stalin" in pictures, with the minimum wordage, but enuf wordage. It will make Deutscher (and Prof. Carr) look like moral lepers.

The quote from Lenin, "any dodge, ruse, etc", should definitely be in there, and I should think offhand would be an excellent one as a frontispiece. Right out of his own mouth.

Just another offhand suggestion: buy "Why I Escaped" and ask I. to reread it, and see if she doesn't think there are some good brief anecdotal quotes in it. I.e., you could have a photo of a couple of ordinary USSR airmen, sitting at mess-table, or what have you, and a few sentences of CONVERsation from Pirogov, —where the SMERSH man tells him he'd better inform on his pals, or else, —with the subscript: —Peter Pirogov, "Why I Escaped", page so&so. It wouldn't do any harm to advertise Pirogovs & Kravchenkos & Tchernavins anyway; all in the same good cause.

Item. On the left-hand page a photo of Alger Hiss montaged (or alongside) one of Mrs. Hede Massing (cf. her book)(she's quite photogenic I think) with caption quoting her on how Hiss & she agreed, after squabbling good-naturedly about interfering with each other's apparatuses, "We're both working for the same boss". Then on the right-hand page, a photo of Roosevelt, Stalin, and Hiss, with quote from "Seeds of Treason" on how, at Yalta, at one point FDR, JVS and Hiss (and one interpreter) were closeted together in the same room. (Roosevelt allegedly emerging saying, "I don't know how they persuaded me to give in, but I did"). There is probably a Yalta photo showing Hiss standing behind some of the others. Just an idea, but when you stop to think what may have been passing thru (a) Hiss's and (b) Stalin's mind at that little tete-a-tete, it might make a dramatic set of photos. But perhaps wouldn't really buttress any of the main themes.

"VERDICT OF THREE DECADES". I'm getting it today. There may be some good caption material in it.

ILLUSTRIOUS DEFECTEES. No one of them, perhaps, is important enuf to deserve a photo. But how about devoting two or three pages to photos of the 2 or 3 dozen most illustrious figures who have been admirers of the Soviet system & then become disillusioned? Taken all together, they ought to make a pretty impressive gallery: Gide, Koestler, Mann(??), Silone, etc. etc. etc.,

and you could have a quarter-page of caption giving a one-sentence quote from each of them (..."a spy-ridden slave-camp"...."more totalitarian than any Hitler"...etc), or a single caption to the effect ex-admirers of "The Light that Failed". After all, when one Gide "defects" it may not be much, but when they all do, sooner or later, it makes a pretty telling point, and a point which will have a multi-national and racial appeal (Silone, Gide, Richard Wright, etc). Throw the book at the bastards. Don't miss any trick. If you have a good brick right at hand, why not throw it. ("Any stigma is good enuf to beat a dogma", as someone erroneously said).

"LENIN": a wonderful book, and perfect for selling by the thousands to the Kernoviches & Bullitts & Bedell Smiths. But remember the photo-book editions should total in the millions, for the ordinary reader everywhere. That's why, if I may harp on it, I think it should lean towards the tone & style of Grimm's fairy tales, where you don't read very far before you know the Uncle is Wicked, or strongly suspect it. Therefore the photo of Lenin with the quote "use any dodge, ruse or deception" would be an excellent frontispiece. Offhand I should say "YOU CAN NEVER AFFORD TO TRUST, BELIEVE THIS MAN" is the main theme, with "The more people let this man dupe them, the more this man means slavery and WAR" perhaps a close second. It's their propaganda you're combatting, and if you can show the reader "HE'S NEARLY ALWAYS LYING, and for his sake not yours" you've just about done it.

Re "The STORY of Joseph Stalin". Got to tell it. There's got to be a story, a more or less chronological narrative. But I don't see, do you, how you can begin to tell the whole story! there's too much of it; you could put the war against Finland in, or you could leave it out; there are too many areas and episodes of that order to put them all in. At any rate not with photos; i.e., if you decided to mention Finland at all, it might have to be just with literally 2 or 3 words sandwiched in somewhere in a caption, where (and if) they would

heighten the effect. E.g., you might show photos of the taking over ("welcoming back") of Latvia and/or Est. & Lit., and then add that "..since 1945 the USSR has been expanding at the rate of 65 sq. miles (or whatever it is) per day." (Since 1939, I think it is 65 sq. m per day. Can dig it up, —and let me know any other research you might want to have done). Then juxtapose it with Stalin's statement (1942) about "not wanting an inch of anyone else's territory". / And throw in "This is my last territorial demand" of Hitler, if it wouldn't clutter things up /.

Item. Alongside the frontispiece quote from Lenin, re "any deception", underneath it you could put Hitler's famous quote about the "big lie". Just because the idea of making the whole book a Hitler-Stalin parallel has been shelved, is no reason why you shouldn't draw the parallel wherever you see fit, if it heightens the effect.

More re: not telling the whole story, namely:

The Problem of the BIG PAUSE. Your telling the story of the Wicked Uncle, and heaven knows this is an important "episode" in it. Hard to see how it could be omitted entirely. And yet to deal with it is a problem. It is just the sort of problem that has been leading me to think you've got to lean on Text to do part of the job. I.e., the book is a PHOTO-book, and the pictures are the piece de resistance. But the beauty of really effective photos is that they heighten the effect, and carry you through patches where, unavoidably, no really arresting photo is available, —in which patches, I'd say, you're going to have to be content with an ordinary photo and lean at that point on your caption. Which doesn't worry me too much, because, after all, anti-Stalinist literature (and your own malicious mind) are ~~not~~ not lacking in pithy & sizzling texts, such as alone will make the given page readable and memorable. (E.g., to pick at random a mediocre sample: "If the U.S.S.R. is a democracy, then Leavenworth Prison is a democracy"; nothing to write home about,

but, with brevity, it paints a picture, after a fashion.) After all, words alone can paint pictures, and evoke emotions, and as your basic aim is to evoke an emotional response, there's no need to cramp your style with a self-imposed restriction banning the use of words. I should think the test would be: If the reader wants to stop reading it in the middle, the caption, however true, is bad; if you've held his interest to a pitch where he really wants to read on, and is painting pictures in his own mind as he reads, then it's OK. E.g., if you have the photo of the three purgees Rykov, K., & Z., and then continue in your caption to the tune "there was a bullet in the back of the head for X, and for Y, and for Z too" it will be, faute de mieux, OK if the reader is already gripped to the point of picturing to himself all these Comrades being ground thru the mill of "opposition"—demotion—arrest—"confession"—death.

E.g. also, I'd strongly recommend, offhand, inclusion of the striking photo of Mindszenty, circles under his eyes, at the trial, and then you could add to the effect that he is merely the highest-ranking of the, e.g., more than 12,000 Catholic clergy who have been imprisoned in Czechoslovakia since 1948. (I have the figures).

Re THE FAMINE, to get back to it. The best I can suggest is that you could have either (a) one of the rare, if existing at all, photos, of a famine scene or (b) a photo of a normal Village Scene, Harvest Scene, with the caption: It could have been like this, but Big Brother wanted an ORGANIZED FAMINE, plus the most devastating quote you can get from the highest-ranking non-anti-Stalinist source; and/or plus brief but human-interest quotes from Pirogov and/or Kravchenko, whereby you translate into human-interest terms the cold statistics of several million dying of famine.

More re FAMINE. It's a problem, how to do it justice, and I'd suggest you have to do at least two things: (a) make it believable & believed, and

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(b) heighten the emotional effect. If you succeed in (a), it will automatically help with (b). And I should think it would help toward (a) to put in the points you were mentioning. Namely, to make a flat, quiet, sober statement to the general effect; "At first glance it passes credibility that the rulers of a great country would deliberately plan the mass-starvation of several millions of their fellow-citizens and potential arms-bearers. But this is exactly what they did, and they did it for two reasons (1) to break the political power of the peasants, and (b) to get grain for valuta for machine tools."

The same method would be good (I think almost obligatory) in doing justice to SLAVE LABOR. I.e., you just quietly state that, whereas it may seem too nightmarish that a regime could keep 15,000,000 slave-laborers xxxxxx like cattle, it's not the nightmarish product of an Orwell's imagination, it's a fact, and it is done for the following cooly thoughout reasons...." Then quote, either in substance or, preferably, verbatim, from I Chose Justice, bottom p. 238, where Kravchenko's NKVD school-mate gives the xxxxx reasons for segregating potential trouble-makers and working them to death to get their products for 1/5 the cost in the free market. A verbatim quote is by no means essential (though I think quotation marks always liven a page) but I think the EXPLANATION, unblushing proffered by you, the author of the photo-book, is an almost essential ingredient. When you explain how the FAMINE and the SLAVE-LABOR do make sense, to the Kremlin mind, you have (a) enhanced the credibility, (b) gratified your reader, to whom, in many cases, xx one or more of these things (the TRIALS,e.g) may for years have been a source of puzzlement, and (c) heightened the horror and the emotional response.

Cf. how "1984" builds up to quite a pitch of nightmare, but it is only by dint of a good deal of explanation and repetition. (There is a great deal more artistic xxxx economy in "Animal Farm", of course, and if you can make

use of it and/or its technique, more power to your elbow.) N.b., how "Animal Farm", perhaps the best brief anti-Stalin literary effort (isn't it?) is just a fairy tale, and yet has a good deal of repetition in it.

Sorry to go on at such length. Luckily the postman knocketh now. Hope there is some value in it. Let me know anything I can do to help.

W.S.S.

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8 Sept. 1950

ROBERT M. HEADLEY

is a contract agent; the effective date of his contract with CIA is 1st Dec. 1949, for two years.

Fred Richards (CFD) says the agreement with him re royalties, etc., should be signed by Mr. Eccles, as contracting officer.

General Counsel's office informed of the above today, on their inquiry.

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LETTER TO BORIS SHUB   Sept. 11, 1950

Dick hopes to see you in person next weekend. Meanwhile entirely OK to go ahead. The copyright should be all in your name. Lay-out assistant should be offered only a fixed fee, —half down, half on publication. Also credit line as collaborator if you think he deserves it. Consult Ken as to what would be a reasonable fee to offer him.

J suggests as possible publishers in approximate order of preference Doubleday; Picture Press (270 Park Ave., J. J. Thorndike, Jr., former m.e. of "Life" and Oliver Jensen, on leave of absence from "Life"); Simon & Schuster.

Best to Libby.

S

Letter to Boris Shub, 510 W. 110th.
non-watermark paper.

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223..Painting of Stalin & Red Army General Staff, in Red Army Hall, Pyongyang, Korea (1)

226..East German People's Police march in Red-sponsored torchlight parade celebrating Stalin's 70th b'day, 1949.

224..East German People's Police in Lustgarten Sq. during CP youth demonstration, 28/5/50

225..People's Police, Lustgarten Sq., May Day 1950

214..East German Police (left) & W.G. Police as buffer on Berlin border 1950.

54...Students vote for Moscow People's Court, Feb. '49; Soviet source.

55...Voting for Moscow People's Court, Feb. '49; Soviet source.

216..Russians (left) take over guard duties from US, 1949, at Spandau Prison, where many former top Nazis are serving sentences.

227..."Frankfurter Allee" in East Sector renamed "Stalin Allee", 70th b'day.

53...Army personnel get ballot for election of Moscow People's Court, Feb. '49; Soviet source.

229..Front page of anti-C underground paper, 1949.

228..Part of rev'y pamphlet from anti-C u'ground press "somewhere in Russia". The "fork of freedom" is u'ground symbol. 1949.

141..general view of Moscow.

22...Stalin accepts flowers from Russian kids, 70th b'day.

21...Moscow univ. students being examined in math.

104-5-6..Stalin, 1943.

98...Head of statue of Stalin placed on snapped off light pole by German soldiers, 1941.

97...Stalin; no date.

2.3..no date

1...Opening of XI Olympiad, Lustgarten, 1936.

6...Nazi Party Day, Berlin, 1938.

8...Labor Day demonstration, Tempelhof Field, 1934.

7...Marching for Hitler, Adolf Hitler Platz, Berlin, Party Day '38.

9...Opening of 1941-2 War Winter Relief Drive, Sportspalast, Berlin.

10...Hitler reviewing German Youth, 1939.

5...Nazi Party Rally, Berlin, 1938; Hitler.

47...Moscow, Fourth Kantemirovka Tank Division of Guards mechanized unit. 1949.

37...Red Army commanders stand review by Stalin; Moscow, 1945.

35...Troops in Palace Square, Leningrad, May Day 1948.

36...Red Army in Red Square with Nazi & Wehrmacht flags, 1945.

41...Soviet air force cadets, May 1949, Moscow.

43...T-34 medium tanks (foreground) and SU-100 self-propelled 100 mm guns moving up Gorky Street toward Red Square; 1949.

44...Infantry at May Day parade, Moscow, 1949.

45...Red Army parading, Moscow, 1945.

40...Zhukov gallops into Red Square, 1945

38...All Union Physical Culture parade in Dynamo Stadium, 1947.

39...Students of Zhukovsky Military Aviation Academy passing thru Red Square during parade of Moscow Military Garrison, 1949.

30...Peter Kapitsa in Institute of Physical Problems, Moscow; he is director, at left; 1945.

29...Deputies to the Supreme Soviet, 3 Heroes of the S.U., l.to r. Colonel of the Guards A. Pokryshkin, Marshal G. Zhukov; Major of Guards I. Kozhdub; in the Kremlin Palace. Acme Newsphoto 805096

27...Workers celebrating 32nd anniv. of Rev., 1949. "May it live and flourish— a united, independent, democratic peace-loving Germany"; Moscow.

24...FDJ members march to Russian War Memorial; Treptow, Berlin, '49.

23...Col. Serge Tulpanov, chief of Propaganda Dept of Sov Mil Admin in Berlin, addresses second annual Parteitag of the SED; calls "fascist" US Europe's foe. Acme Newsphoto NYC, #BER(Lin) 348674, 9-24-47

111..Moscow; anti-religious campaign; century-old bells crashed down from tower, to be melted for farm machinery.

107...Bogayavlensk Cathedral, Moscow.

128...Ribbentrop signing German-Russian pact, 1939.

177...no data

130...Stal, Mol, Rib signing pact, Aug '39.

136...Mol & Rib, Aug. '39; Moscow.

17...Grave of S's wife Nadyezhda Allilnyeva, Moscow '37.

149..Malenkov; Acme Newspictures, NYC, 8/4/46; SOV300930

165..Yezhov, '38
167..Sergusy Nikiforovich Kruglov, '47
168..Lev Zakharovich Mekhlis, born 1889, Min of State Control; '47

79...Library, Moscow Univ., 1942.
81...Woman conductor, Moscow streetcar; before 1936.
84...Workers on Moscow-Rostov railway.
78...Women cleaning loco of Northern Line after overhaul at Moscow Depot; Oct. '31
76...Grocery store with home delivery service in Bauman district, Moscow; bef. '37
71..Chaplin, "City Lights" Metropole theater, Moscow.
72...[illegible] unloading sausages from truck for market.
74...Women selling food in city market; 1935
68...Collective farm girls with primitive implements; Moscow oblast, July '46
83...Soccer team, Moscow, Feb. '49.
14...Lenin Institute, Moscow.
58...Red Army men inspect English-language books in Moscow shop. 1942.
85...Soldiers visit a farmer, Feb. '49, Moscow
65...Woman readying bricks for bricklayers, Moscow, '47.
77...Moscow (State) Univ., 1944.
69...American bean seed being distributed to collective farmers of Ystra
District, Moscow oblast, 1945.
66...Women carry girder to job manned mostly by women; Moscow '47.

86...no data
96...Boy drummers, Red Sq., '46; appears in Bedell Smith's book.
89...Girls saluting Big Brother's bust in young pioneers "House of Children",
in Eastern Sector, Berlin, 1950.
88...Lenin Hills, looking n.e. across Moscow River, 1947.
92..."Children's Town" at Park of Culture and Rest, Moscow; before 1939.
94...All Union Physical Culture Parade at Dynamo Stadium, 1947
95...Members of 11th Congress of Lenin Young Communist League greet members
of Congress, Moscow, 1949.

120..Stalin smiles as Churchill takes out cigar; Yalta, Feb. '45.

7 Sept. 1950

CIA GRAPHICS' NUMBERS FOR ABOUT 82 PHOTOS, OF WHICH STERILIZED DUPLICATES ARE TO B E SENT TO SHUB SEPT. 8

223..CIA 36685 Confidential
226..CIA 36892 Conf.
224..CIA 36751 Restr.
225..CIA 36786 Restr.
214..CIA 36899 Conf.
54...CIA 30018 Secret. Soviet source.
55...CIA 30002 Secret. Soviet source.
216..CIA 36897 Conf.
227..CIA 36893 Conf.
53...CIA 30023 Secret. Soviet source.
229..CIA 28023 Restricted.
228..CIA 28024 Restricted.
141..OSS 969039 APL 347289
21...CIA 28508 Conf.
22...CIA 32340 Restricted.
106..OSS-P-11061 Press Assoc. Photo
195..OSS-P-11060 Press Assoc. Photo
104..OSS-P-11062
97...CIA Not for release
98...CIA 28453 Conf.
2....no description; nothing on the back
3....same as 2
1....26586 82 (nothing else)
6....26586 82
8....26586 82
7....ditto
4....25090 0
9....26586 82
10...26586 82
5....25090 0
47...CIA 28020 Restr.
37...CIA 27124 Conf.
35...CIA 27118 Conf.
36...CIA 27123 Conf.
41...CIA 30050 Secret
43...CIA 28021 Restr.
44...CIA 28022 Conf.
45...CIA 27119 Conf.
40...CIA 25472 Conf.
38...CIA 28792 Conf.
39...CIA 34475 Restr.
29...Acme newspictures, 8th Avenue, NYC
30...CIA 26005 Conf.
23...Acme Newspictures, BER(lin) 848674, NY Bureau
27...CIA 28018 Restr.
24...26586 82
107..27060 82
111..27060 82
128..CIA 28039 Restr.
127..CIA 28454
130..CIA 26946 Restr.
136..CIA 26947 Restr.

17...27986 82
169..Acme Newspictures, [illegible], NY Bureau; 8/4/46
165..CIA-P-2958
168..CIA-P-4010 Secret
167..CIA-P-4003 Secret
79...CIA 25716 Conf.
81...OSS 771112
84...OSS.969079
78...OSS 771093
76...OSS 771238
71...OSS Pictorial Records Division; 473.23 M891
B 915 USSR Moskva 22480
72 ~~71~~...OSS Pict. Records Div. 473.23 M891 B 915 USSR; 22639
74...OSS Pict. Records Div. 473.23 M891; b 915 USSR 22505
68...CIA 2506 Graphics Donor #6; Restr.
83...CIA 30047 Secret
14...CIA 25686 Conf.
58...CIA 28941 Conf.
85...CIA 30034 Secret
65...CIA 28797 Conf.
77...CIA 25717 Conf.
69...CIA 26017 Conf.
66...CIA 28789 Conf.
86...no description
96...CIA 28441 Conf. (also in Bedell Smith's book).
89...CIA 32617 Conf.
88...CIA 2166
Restr. Graphics Donor #6
92...OSS 771227
94...CIA 27996 Secret
95...CIA 17361 Restr.
120..OSS-P-11172 Signal Corps Photo.

82 total

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5 Sept. 1950

RE: AGREEMENT TO BE MADE BETWEEN OPC and ROBERT M. HEADLEY (pseud.) in re publication of a book.

(1) Headley is a covert OPC employee. He is either a staff agent or a contract employee; Mr. Millard (ex-2798) can verify which.

(2) Headley —who is now engaged in preparing the book— is to approach a publisher in his own name, and as a private citizen.

(3) The book to be published under Headley's real name; with perhaps the addition of "...in collaboration with Blank / Headley's lay-out man, yet to be selected, if Headley feels the lay-out man deserves such credit/"

Copyright to be held by Headley, both US and foreign.

Royalties to be received by Headley.

(4) Headley to have discretion in selecting a lay-out assistant, whom he will offer to pay either

(a) a fixed fee, half down and half on publication; or
(b) the fixed fee, plus a percentage of royalties; or
(c) a percentage of royalties.

Probably Headley will offer (a).

(5) The book to be published initially in the U.S. It is hoped that there will later be editions in many foreign languages, possibly subsidized.

(6) Royalties over a given period will be either smaller or larger than Headley's salary.

Headley is to turn over the gross royalties to OPC —submitting the royalty statements or copies thereof— less the difference between Headley's income tax including royalties and the tax as it would have been if he had not received royalties.

Headley should submit also a copy of his Income Tax return(s).

(7) Copyright to be assigned by Headley to OPC.

(8) Arrangement re royalties to be terminable. Royalties might continue to dribble in for several years, after Headley might have severed his connection with OPC.

Therefore a clause is suggested to the effect: "at such time as the Government in its discretion may decide, the obligation on the part of Headley to turn over royalties may be cancelled, and thereafter any royalties shall be received by Headley for his own use."

(9) Headley should submit/itemized written statements of all expenses chargeable to the project; receipts from his collaborator for payment of fixed fee; etc.; *copy of the contract with the publisher*

(10) Headley to submit the final dummy for approval by an OPC representative.

Saw Mr. Joe Kelly, 224 Admin.
about this Sept. 6th. He will call Sept. 8th

SECRET

5 Sept. 1950

To Boris Shub
510 W. 110th St.

Thanks for receipt.

They expect to have the photos ready tomorrow.

Other arrangements are proceeding apace and in the simplest manner.

Thought you'd like to see this editorial.

ncn-watermark

66

14-00000

5 Sept 50

5 Sept. 1950

L-1030 Mr. Eccles, Ray, WSS.

Ray artist fixed fee, or.
ff + royalties, or.
% of royalties.

Ray Rogs suppose smaller
" larger

EE: there was a similar book; published in US (OPC)

REM: BS = 2s[illegible] agent thinks a contract employee

EE. * highly impt =
written assignment of rights (copyright) & royalties to US
BS turns over gross royalties
[illegible] increased tax

WSS "

EE "at such time as the Govt may decide
the obligation to pay royalties may be ~~[illegible]~~ cancelled".
[illegible]

EE Tax returns will be identical
few minutes work

BS give certified copy of
1) his actual tax return...
2) statement of his royalties... END

14-00000

COPY.

September 2, 1950

Received from Robert M. Headley the sum of one hundred (100) dollars ~~in~~ as part payment for services in procuring photographs for the Stalin picture book project.

W. J. Green

original given to
John Bischoff
5 Sept. 50.
W. S. S.

61

14-00000

Re "STAMN" PHOTO — 31 Aug 50

31 Aug. '50.

BS

If NCFE must be used as cover, make sure it is spelled out ~~that their~~ role is confined merely to vouching for the cover story, and ~~that they have~~ no say over the contents of this book, ~~that they~~ don't even see it.

SECRET

30 Aug. '50

Gave SHUB Amson's file of magazije articles on Stalin (which he doesn't want returned), and Crankshaw article of 25-6-50 in Sunday "NY Times" magazine "AGAIN THE BATTLE FOR LENIN'S MANTLE", marked "Please return to WSS when & if you can spare it".

WSS

SECRET

14-00000

copy to Shub 30 Aug 50

MR. BRYAN: FYI
a given to Jim Hanson.

FROM "New York Times", Sunday, 25 June 1950:

"PICTURE PRESS" is the newest shingle on Publishers' Row, hanging from 270 Park Avenue. Editors are Joseph J. Thorndike, Jr., former managing editor of "Life", and Oliver Jensen, on leave of absence from the magazine. The firm will concentrate on serious, inexpensive photo-text books with a general interest and news slant.

WSS

41

14-00000

30 Aug '50

BS will send rcpt to me, to give to John B., .. for $100 cash "rec'd from RM Headley by "wf green" -- composite name for his 2 "N.L." friends, — suggested by JB[illegible]

14-00000

COPY

30 August 1950

Received from W. S. Sims $100 cash, for services in obtaining photographs to be used in a photo-book, under project SGHOUSE, later to be charged to KMFUNNY.

Robert M. Headley

Robert M. Headley

R
A

14-00000

29 Aug. '50

Mr. Kessinger called. (x-2657).
They will try to get the 82 photos
done within a week.

Will send the originals back
to me, for me to make a stori?ized
list.

14-00000

To Shub

29 Aug. '50

LITTAUER & WILKINSON
200 Madison Avenue
See Kenneth Littauer

SIMON & SCHUSTER published "The Baby" & "The Frenchman" & "Happy Holiday"

DOUBLEDAY & CO. published the "Zoo" books

+ Box 1901 address

OWI Book "I am not crazy enuf to want a war"

"STALIN'S PUBLIC INTERVIEWS AND STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS" 1936-48.
Sov Affairs Notes #35

"Sov. Imperialism Poland 1939-48" SovAff Notes #38

14-00000

Mr Sus

~~MR. BRYAN~~

~~Top copy~~

~~given to Mr. Thompson~~

Bill: Excellent! Pick a name for the project (KMKNOUT?) for file purposes. Let me know th. TBm-

14-00000

MR. BRYAN

25 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

SUBJECT: Conference of JBIII, Shub and Sims, Aug. 25, re "STALIN" photo book.

(1) Some 202 photos were examined; the best, about 67, obtained by Shub in NY, the others furnished by CIA Graphics; plus some magazine articles with photos, supplied by Jim Williamson.

(2) Sims is to do utmost to get clearance by CIA Graphics for maximum use of their photos by Shub: clearance, if possible, for Shub to take the photos to NY (probably not possible); and/or duplicates minus CIA markings; and/or lists of the sources from which CIA got them.
/ Failing these, I can make descriptive list of the CIA photos. It should not be difficult to duplicate most of them in NY agencies, and the Shub pictures are in any case the kernel of the book /.

(3) Length of book. Not much discussed. More important to set the tone and decide the main theme. Thirty-five pictures would almost certainly be too few; 150 might be OK.

(4) KMFUNNY? Sims to clear with Mr. Thompson and Millard whether the "Stalin" photo-book could be done under KMFUNNY, which reads:
"5. b. That the purposes of this project / animal photos, with satirical captions, in many languages / be approved in principle and a sum of $40,000 be appropriated for the development and distribution of similar photobooks a t the discretion of Chief, SP."

/ Anyhow, let's get on with the book and, if neces sary, amend KMFUNNY or write up a new project, later /.

(5) Book to be prepared by Shub, working in NY. Period of 6 months work by Shub, as co-author with David Shub of biography of Stalin, to begin after completion of work on photobook.

(6) Shub to approach publisher as private citizen; to hold copyright, take royalties, for transmission to the account of KMFUNNY presumably. / Presumably CIA's legal eagles are equipped to handle the income-tax ~~xx~~ angles of this overt-covert set-up /.
Book to be published under signature "Boris Shub".

(7) Collaborator for Shub in lay-out. JBIII will give Shub a list of possible helpers. JBIII: mentioned Dick Lyon; "See Littauer; ask him for a good layout man; the best in the New Yorker's man, but he doesn't specialise in photo media; you want a Life-type man, they have better layout than Look.
"Pay him on a one-shot basis, a fixed fee. Tell him he gets a certain amount down, and the same again if the book is published."
/ Jim Williamson says he would be glad to help on layout, if there is difficulty getting anyone else /.

SECRET

3 carbons

(8) Publication to be in the US first, with a view to subsidisation (if necessary) of editions (possibly abridged) in Western Europe and elsewhere.

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JBIII to Shub: "Ask LST what he thinks about Jensen"."

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JBIII: The main theme should be "Where are they now?", —all those individuals and countries that have been outmanoeuvred and taken over and liquidated by Stalin.

When you are writing for mass distribution, your technique should be: "I will tell you this, I am telling you it, I have told you it".

Sims: The thread running through it, starting with Lenin, could be: Cunning, plus "Ruthlessness" (one of Lenin's favorite words), plus complete Intolerance of any opposition to a very narrow and constantly-being-purged Kremlin clique. Moral: (1) "Nobody can trust these people", and (2) "Because they tolerate no opposition, they mean War".

/ A possible title, or sub-title might be "Half slave, half free?", the quotation from Lincoln, which would tie in with the campaign to expose the USSR as the true "reactionary" and the US as the true "revolutionary" champion of freedom. /

Shub: As far as possible, the photos, and the sequence in which they're arranged, should tell the story. OWI's war-time, 32-page photobook on Hitler ("I am not crazy enough to want a war") relies too much on captions. We should make a book that Molotov & Stalin would squirm when they read it, and have no answer to. Then it will be good for publication anywhere."

(11) Shub to move to NYC September 1.

WSS
W.S.S.

(12) Shub to pay ^his sources in Hi..ing^ NYC associates $100 for the photos they have already obtained, plus $200 on publication of the book.

SECRET

14-00000

To Shab 29 Aug '50

22-7-50

Cover of book:

photo of

STALIN

~~as in Room 2612~~

(a) cover of NY Times RR Review on Deutscher.

Caption: JOSEPH STALIN

1917—195?

Comment: The "195?" (a) arouses curiosity;

(b) suggests he, —and to that extent the Stalin regime— will come to an end in the 1950's;

(c) carries the implication(?): Couldn't his regime be overthrown?

Alternative cover: might be, to put on the cover whichever photo proves most telling; the same photo to be printed also in its proper sequence in the book, at which point its meaning will become clear; e.g. the splendid photo of Stalin walking with, but apart from, Rykov, Kamenev & Bukharin, with its message: "this man bides his time, then treacherously strikes down all these 'comrades' who have ceased to be useful to him".

22-7-50

the weird photo of

LENIN'S FIGURE SILHOUETTED

OVER THE RUSSIAN LANDSCAPE

Caption: "The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable.. A series of frightful clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states is inevitable."

To which might be added: (1) Stalin's statement, circa 1945 that the bourgeois & Soviet states can co-exist, and

(2) Stalin's statement of 9 April 1947 to Stassen: "Lenin is our teacher, and we Soviet people are Lenin's disciples".

Comment: Somebody's lying.

Photo suggests the peaceful Russian landscape, dominated by this founder (Lenin) of a dictatorial clique, whose dogmatism, intolerance and bellicosity are suggested by such words as "unthinkable", "inevitable", "frightful clashes".

photo of LENIN:
just any ordinary photo;
seated at his desk, or
in any inactive pose.

Caption:

"I had...fancied Lenin as a giant, stately and imposing.

"How great was my disappointment to see a most ordinary-looking man, below average in height, in no way, literally in no way, distinguishable from ordinary mortals."

—Stalin.

Comment: Crankshaw says: "This impression of a man so great that he could afford to appear ordinary was one which Stalin found it necessary to obliterate from the consciousness of Soviet citizens.

Therefore let's revive it.

This will tie in, of course, with Lenin's Testament: "find a way to remove this man.."

photo of

PLEKHANOV

(we haven't got; can be obtained)

<u>Caption</u>: to the effect: "Georgi Plekhanov, one of Lenin's oldest disciples and collaborators, of whom Lenin said in 192_ 'No one is a true Bolshevik who does not know Plekhanov' (or words to that effect which I've read somewhere), and who told his wife, when the Red Guards forced their way into his house, November 13, 192_:

'How little you know these people! They are capable of hiring an assassin to kill me and shedding crocodile tears after my death to arouse people's emotions.'"

<u>Comment</u>:

We want to drive home the fact, unknown to most readers, that Lenin <u>was</u> bitterly opposed by some of his oldest collaborators; that there were (and are?) schisms even in the inner core; that what fastened itself on the back of the Russian people was a clique that was "capable" of all "ruthlessness"; ~~[illegible]~~ of anything that would serve its main end: to remain in power.

The quotation also brings out Soviet "crocodile" hypocrisy.

photo of KRONSTADT
(we haven't; can be got)

Caption: to the effect: this is the island fortress off Petrograd, from which the Bolshevik's own creme-de-la-creme marched against Kerensky in July 1917; stormed the Winter Palace in November to put Lenin in power.

Here, on March 1, 1921, 15,000/Bolshevik sailors and soldiers revolted against Lenin's regime, and dispatched a radio message to the world:

"The first shot has thundered. But the entire world knows of it. The bloody Field Marshal Trotsky who stands up to the waist in the fraternal blood of the workers was the first to open fire against revolutionary Kronstadt, which rebelled against the government of the Communists in order to re-establish the real power of the Soviets. We will rise or fall under the ruins of Kronstadt, fighting for the bloodstained cause of the laboring people. Long live the power of the Soviets! Long live the world Socialist Revolution!"

Marshal Tukhachevsky described the outcome:

"I was in the war for five years, but I cannot remember such a slaughter. It was not a battle; it was an inferno. The sailors fought like wild beasts. I cannot understand where they found the might for such rage. An entire company fought for an hour to capture one house and when the house was captured it was found that it contained two or three soldiers at a machine-gun. They seemed half-dead, but they snatched their revolvers and gasped, 'Too little did we shoot at you scoundrels.'"

Comment: shows it has been done, —a revolt of 15,000, nearly four years after Lenin came to power.
The average reader knows nothing of the fact this revolt occurred, and should be reminded.
Tukhachevsky, incidentally, adds an item of "continuity" to the story, since further on there is a photo of him, as one of those executed.

Note: the above would admittedly make a lengthy caption; but a vivid one; and necessary, because there is no photo (presumably) in existence of the actual revolt; and the fact it occurred should be driven home.

Fri. 25 Aug. 50

(non-labelled)

TAKING FOR REPRINTING ON MONDAY:

Soviet militarism	11	
Nazism	10	2 very big
Personalities	2	
Soviet Germany	3	
Stalin alone	5	
Lenin	1	
Stalin's inner circle	4	
Daily life	17	
Religion	2	
Stalin & Churchill	1	
Nazi-Soviet pact etc.	4	1 dupl.
Stalin's wife's grave	1	
Children: war or peace?	7	1
Big brpther	2	
Other "yes"'s	12	
	82	

97

14-00000

28 August 1950

Please retrun these 82 original photos, along with the sterile duplicates of them, so that we can make a sterile list of captions, and a list of the original CIA numbers.

W. S. Sims/SP

K-2410

ext-569

28 Aug. 1950

BORIS

Mrs. Poland is going to get the 82 duplicates made just as fast as she can. She couldn't give a time limit on it this a.m.

Incidentally, re the 68 photos for which you got the agencies' bill of about $150 this morning, she says agencies like those often sell you photos for a dollar or two for your own private use, but that the usual fee for use for publication is $6 or more. So you'd better make sure when on the point of publishing whether you've paid for the publishing right.

(The photo we were in doubt about <u>is</u> one of CIA's)

WSS

Paul Breitweiser is charging the $150-odd temporarily against SCHOUSS

→ They <u>were</u> billed at $6.–

SECRET

14-00000

SIMP

Mr. Thompson

Shah is going to NY to start work on this Sept. 1st. Do you want to take up any points with him before he leaves?

WBS

MR. THOMPSON

25 August 1950

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/ Anyhow, let's get on with the book and, if noces sary, amend KMFUNNY or write up a new project, later /.

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W.S.S.
W.S.S.

(12) Shmib to pay NYC associates $100 for the photos they have already obtained, plus $100 on publication of the book.

3 carbons

25 Aug. '50

Re "Stalin" Photos

Stub's returned to him = highest #= #68

102 photos winnowed out for return to CIA Monday.

CIA has sent us

202 - 68 stubs =	134
+ ## 203 - 227	25
+ ## 228-235 rec'd Aug. 1, '50	8
TOTAL:	167
Returning	102
should leave	65

Actually taking 83 "yes"'s to Mrs. P. Monday

14-00000

27 June '50

Re: "STALIN" PHOTO-BOOK.

Target: Stalin.

Basic theme: Stalin means WAR.

For publication in: to be suitable for publication in any country. France to start with.

Item: BS: "It should be so good that Stalin himself couldn't answer it. Captions to be as far as possible genuine quotes from Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, under photos showing undeniable facts such as the assassination of Trotsky. Nothing phoney. If we have a book that no one in the Kremlin can pick holes in, it will be good for publication anywhere in the world."

Item: BS: Target is Stalin and his regime. "It should not contain a line that would offend any non-Communist Russian".

Item: BS: "Don't use any quotes from avowed anti-Stalinists such as Kravchenko."

Title? "Joseph Stalin", "This Man Wants 'Peace'", "This Man Talks Peace" "Thirty-three Years of Peace", "The Trojan Dove".
BS: Don't let's worry about the title now.

Item: BS: K says there is a very striking contrast between photos of the Politburo leaders in the 20's and unretouched photos of them now, e.g. in the official 20-minute news-reel of May Day 1949 in Red Square, bloated fatcats. WS: It looks (28 June) as tho this news-reel, and stills from it, may be available. JW: If it's technicolor, so much the better.

Item: JW: "Pictorial History of Russia" by John Stuart Martin.

CONTENTS, suggested by BS:

(1) Photo of Tsar & Kaiser together.
Be-medalled.
([illegible] of these "Willy—Nicky" photos).

(2) Photo showing Devastation of World War I.
Corpses, refugees.
BS: preferably in what area? France?

(3) Photo: Lenin (genuinely) urging Peace.
Lenin on soap-box, with crowds carrying banners "Peace"
Caption indicating translation of Russian for "peace".

(4) Close-ups of Lenin & his Politburo in power.
Including one of Lenin & Trotsky (& Stalin?) together.
They wanted peace; what became of them? Followed by:

(5) Trotsky reviewing troops.

(6) Trotsky dead, with head bandaged.
Caption: quotation from Stalin to the effect "We owed much in 1917-18
to the organising genius of Comrade Trotsky".

(7) [or (4)?]
Lenin "a most ordinary-looking man".

Caption: Stalin's "How great was my disappointment to see a most
ordinary-looking man, below average in height, in no way, literally
in no way, distinguishable from ordinary mortals." (From Crankshaw
article, "The Battle for Lenin's Mantle", in NYTimes mag., 25/6/50).

(7½) Photo Stalin.
Perhaps the unshaven one in Deutscher, or the one from his/
Tsarist police dossier.

Caption: Lenin's 4 Jan. 1923 postscript to his Testament:
"Stalin is too rough...Therefore I propose that the comrades find
a way to remove Stalin..." (Crankshaw article).

Title for BOOK?: "FIND A WAY TO REMOVE STALIN"—V.I. LENIN

(8) "Photo of USSR being put on a war footing"

I.e., photo of __________? a collective farm?
photo of famine during the enforced collectivization?
photo of liquidated kulaks?
photo of a mass of tractors?

NB: the argument here is: The real purpose behind Collectivization was (a) to break the peasants as a political force, and (b) to put the country on a war footing: to get the grain, in order to get foreign exchange, in order to get war machinery.

NB: this will need a cogent caption, to make the argument convincing.

(9) Photo of Tukhachevsky & generals shot in '37

1. Tukhachevsky
2. Gamarnik (had a beard)
3. Yakir
4. Yegorov
5. Feldman
6. Kork

Caption?
How does the fact Stalin shot them prove "Stalin means War"?

(10) Stalin with Ribbentrop, after signing Pact 1939 (Aug).

Caption: birthday greeting telegram from ______ to ______:
"Our friendship is cemented in blood"

(11) Moscow airdrome decorated with the Swastika.

(12) Stalin & Matsuoka together after signing neutrality pact, April '41.

(13) Left page: Red Army marching into Poland, 1939
Right " : Nazis marching into Poland, 1939

Caption: "...With one blow the so-called State collapsed"
(See quotations from "Rape of Poland" by Mikolajczyk, HS has)

(14) Red Army meeting Nazis at Lwow, about Nov. 1939.

(15) Scene from Russo-Finnish war.

emphasis on Russian soldiers dead.

Caption: quote Stalin on Finnish independence, 1917; he signed the decree;
WS: who has the text of the decree on hand? "Deutscher"?

(16) Stalin makes war on his native Georgia; Feb. 1921

??But any photo hard to come by?

Caption: quote Lenin: "I am outraged by the arrogance of Ordjonikidze and the connivance of Stalin and Dzerzhinsky". (Crankshaw article).

For photo: use shot of Stalin's birthplace, or of Tiflis, or something like that?

JH has read Chavchavadze's book.

(17) Photo of invasion of Russia, June 1941.

Caption:

BS: I can turn this to good account.

(18) Stalin with Churchill & Roosevelt, posing as one of the champions of "Democracy".

Caption: BS "I have millions of captions for this in 'Stalin's War-time Speeches'".

(19) Meeting on Elbe of USA & USSR soldiers.

Caption: this time people thought peace had really come (in Europe)

(20) Red Army display of tanks & men in Red Square

from some Nov. 7 or 1st May photo.

(21) Beria & Malenkov looking "loathsome"

unretouched stills from news-reel of May 1, '49 in Red Square.

Caption?

(22) Hitler's Chancellery in ruins.

(23) Nuremberg War Criminals lying in a row after being hanged.

(24) Anti-CP peace-rally in W. Berlin

Caption: "the people still want peace".

(25) Eisenhower & Zhukov together (in uniform), 1945

(26) Eisenhower as Columbia president (in civilian clothes)

Caption: "Where is Zhukov now?"

Item: "They bungled their way into helping destroy the German Republic and bringing on Hitler. They raised up Hitler to invade them." —HS.

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: W. Sims

NO.

DATE 21 June 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. B. Shub					(1) Don't sign any author's name on this
2.					(2) Don't have any group known to be hostile to Russians as the sponsors
3.					(3) A Russian edition is essential, therefore it should contain nothing that will offend Russians (as distinguished from Stalinist) sensibilities
4.					
5.					(4) Would suggest the new anti-Communist World Trade Union Federation as the sponsor - if one is needed.
6.					
7.					
8.					(5) Main political objective is not Stalin's cruelty or his power, But: —
9.					
10.					He is planning aggressive war which would destroy mankind
11.					
12.					therefore its necessary to destroy him first
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

20 June 50.

MR. SHUB--

"Flattery will get you elsewhere"

(1) Re "STALIN IS HITLER" PHOTO BOOK, suggested by you 16 June.

(2) I have asked ISB to supply us with all available personality photos of Hitler & Stalin, i.e. "photos in which they appear in close-up /—we might also have one of Red Square & Nuremberg?/ receiving bouquets from little girls, visiting wounded soldiers, voting, pinning medals on generals, receiving visiting statesmen from dominated areas, —with emphasis on photos showing the two dictators engaged in similar activities."
I have my doubts as to whether they will come up with a large number. It will probably also be necessary to draw on the big New York photo agencies.

(3) THE PROJECT. The book to be published, first, in France; then in other countries: Italy, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Norway, Sweden, etc.

Russian edition essential (for DP camps at first)

(4) OBJECT. Discredit Stalin. Reveal him as the ruthless master of a "spy-ridden slave-camp". Show him as worse than Hitler. More dangerous, because his poison is more exportable; more ruthless; more cunning. Much more important to show he is planning aggressive war

(5) BOOK TO BE COMPILED BY Williamson, in conjunction with SP. Williamson to be paid his fully daily rate, to enable him to neglect his regular work.

(6) BOOK TO BE SIGNED BY? Howard Hunt suggests, in France, some organization such as the Polish National Liberation Committee, or Federation of Iron Curtain Journalists; or NCFE? or Force Ouvrière? (the last is the best)

No

It might be signed with some pan-European pseudonym such as "Stefan Mueller"?

No!

(7) IS AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE BOOK TO BE CONCEALED?

No

(8) TO BE PUBLISHED BY? In France, a French publisher.

An excellent literary agent might be Gérard Boutelleau, Kravchenko's literary agent, described on page 22 of "I Chose Justice".

(9) SUBSIDY. Estimates of production costs for this type of book have been made in connection with KM FUNNY. To insure widespread sale, a considerable subsidy would be necessary.

But with no author

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(10) SIZE OF BOOK? A maximum of 75 pages of photos. This would give some 36 or 37 two-page sets of Hitler-Stalin photos.

(11) CAPTIONS? I think we will need them, and should have them; at least for a good many of the photos. (I think this will prove to be the case when you come to make up any actual dummy).

(12) Something a good deal more eye-catching and forceful, as a TITLE than the tentative "Stalin Is Hitler" should be forthcoming?

"Your Leader?" "Do you want this man?" "Slave-master", No
"Man of Steel, —and Blood", No No "This Man Wants War!"?

(13) CAN 36 SETS OF PHOTOS SHOWING PARALLELS BETWEEN H & S BE PRODUCED? Undoubtedly yes. But:

(14) HOW MANY PARALLEL CLOSE-UP PHOTOS CAN YOU SUGGEST?

I.e., we can have parallels showing each dictator receiving a bouquet from an awe-struck child; parallels of each of them "voting", — with suitably biting captions under each; parallels of Hacha on the carpet at Berchtesgaden, alongside some Satellite minister summoned to Moscow.

But how, with any close-up photos of H & S can you deal with such matters as Slave Labor, the Gestapo, the MVD. For these, it seems to me, it will be necessary to have non-close-up photos, i.e., photos in which H & S do not appear. But the parallel between the two regimes can be emphasized (a) in the Captions, and (b) by some such typographic device as:

Hitler and Himmler = Stalin and Beria (Gestapo - MVD parallel)

(15) OVER-PRINT A SWASTIKA & HAMMER-SICKLE in the upper corners of each set of non-close-up photos.

(16) TEXT? Captions, it seems to me, will be found necessary, and perhaps even some inter-leaved pages of parallel texts. E.G., you can have, on a left-hand page, a photo of Witzleben (and/or some of the other bomb-plot German Generals being executed in 1944), and on the right-hand page photos of Tuchachevsky and the 6 other Red Army generals who were executed along with him (with no photographers present) in 1937. But how can any photo of Tuchachevsky et al. begin to do justice to the subject of the Purge-as-a continuous-feature-of-Soviet-life-ever-since-1917????

"The first & greatest misunderstanding about the Purges has to do with their duration. To most Americans [also Western Europeans, he says elsewhere: Kravchenko, "I Chose Justice", p.145], a Soviet purge is something

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exceptional, a violent phenomenon which they vaguely understand has happened once, or several times perhaps, but is then over and done with. This is a basic error. Purges are part of the permanent machinery of the Soviet regime. They are continuous and never-ending. There have been periods of intensification....But there has never been a period free of purging..."

How can we possibly do justice to Purges-under-Stalin, as described by Kravchenko in the ten pages 145-155, with a few photos? (Even more so, how do justice, with photos alone, to what it is like to live under a regime where "one person in every 7" is an MVD informer"?) —

Therefore why not something such as:

(17) PURGE PHOTOS PLUS TEXT?

Have one or two good, gruesome gallows photos; plus photos (perhaps a half-dozen or more to a page) of several dozen major figures who have been killed: Tuchachevsky, 6 out of 7 of the 1924 (wasn't it) Politburo itself, the Jan. 1937 purgees ("all shot except Radek"), the Trial of the Twenty-one (March 1938: "all shot except Rakovski"), etc etc., plus Kostov, Rajk, etc.

Then, between pages of photos, have a page of text, to drive the Purging-is-continuous point home.

We could, e.g., reprint the above-quoted paragraph from Kravchenko (whose name every French reader would recognize), and some of the lists of purgees he gives on p. 148-9.

Then the gruesome photo (available?) of Trotsky sprawled across his desk after Stalin's assassin had been at him with the meat-cleaver, which would lead the reader on to perhaps one more page of text. And eye-catching text, not hard to read, in display form:

Yes — Need not be gruesome — Much more effective pictures — the corpse with bandaged head.

POLITBURO

Pyatakov	shot
Rykov	shot
Bukharin	shot
Trotsky	assassinated
Kostov	"deviationist": shot.
Rajk	"deviationist": shot.
Dimitrov	?
Vosnesensky	?
Thorez	195? ? ETC ETC ETC.

(18) A "SPY-RIDDEN" REGIME.

To put this point across, in photos, seems offhand difficult. However, it might be possible simply to have an ordinary photo of an ordinary citizen, looking somewhat apprehensive, with underneath it a Caption consisting of a single sentence from, e.g., Kravchenko:

"....Finally Donenko escaped. He found his wife and three children living in the Donets Basin under a false name.

"'No one except my wife,' Donenko said, 'could know who I really

was. I took lodging in their house as a stranger. My own children called me uncle, and grew up without knowing that the man who boarded in their house was in reality their own father.'" (I Chose Justice, p.306).

(19) KATYN & OSWIECIM, etc. We can of course have parallel photos here.

But a map of the USSR with a large black dot for each place where there is a labor-camp, with Caption underneath in very large type, "15,000,000 and more!" might help to drive home the extent of slave labor under Stalin. I can't see how any single photo of slave-laborers can make the point.

There is such a map of the labor-camp locations in Dallin, but it is typographically a very poor one, and it is devoutly to be hoped that CIA Cartographic can come up with a better one.

(20) TUESDAY, June 27. WILLIAMSON is making a trip to Washington, and should be in the office early in the morning. Could you meet with him then?

In preparing these photo books there seems to be nothing like actually getting down to the preparation of a dummy. Could you prepare some sort of rough Dummy or List of Contents to submit to Williamson, indicating the Themes ~~Themes~~ ~~to~~ which you would like to have the photos illustrate?

WSS
W. S. Sims

(19½) My tentative view in re this Photo Book might be summed up as the "Seydlitz powder" theory. I.e., (1) a page of printed statistics of purgees, alone, is no good; (2) a page with a ~~gruesome~~ gallows photo alone is not good enuf, but (3) put the two together, and you have something "graphic" to bring home to the reader what it would be really like to live under Stalin.

Yes

War is the MAIN Theme

Not Horror or Gruesomeness

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FORM 3-66 2593

(7-13)

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See IO for any additional information on PDQUICK.

Most of the people mentioned came to a conference in Berlin (1st Congress for Cultural Freedom) - arranged by PDQUICK, an EE/PPG Project.

SECRET

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Lindsay, CEE

THROUGH: Mr. Schreyer, EE III

SUBJECT: Congress for Cultural Freedom

Attached is an interim report. A considerable amount of material, including American and foreign press cuttings, a photographic exhibit and full text of speeches, will be available within the next few days and can, at that time, be made the subject of an additional report.

LOUIS GLASER
German Desk, EE III

1 Attachment
Report described above

EE III/LG/fdr
cc:

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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

Berlin, Germany
26 to 30 June, 1950

I. Origin and Purpose

Early in 1950 a plan was conceived to gather together in Berlin, in the heart of Soviet Germany, a representative group of the Western World's intellectual leaders and to provide them with an instrument to repudiate the totalitarian concept of intellectual subservience to the state. OPC planned to convene the Congress of Cultural Freedom in June 1950 at a moment most advantageous to counteract the psychological effect of the Soviet-sponsored Whitsuntide Youth Rally. The meetings and pronouncements of the Congress were to be widely publicized by press, radio and printed material not only to the Western World but by sustained clandestine distribution in communist-controlled areas.

II. Development

To achieve maximum effect and credibility, it was apparent from the outset that the actual sponsorship of such a convention should not be permitted to appear. Accordingly, the Congress for Cultural Freedom ostensibly sprang into being as the inspiration of a meeting between Ernst Reuter, Lord Mayor of Berlin; Dr. Otto Suhr, Rector of the Berlin College of Political Science, and Dr. Redslob, Rector of the Free University of Berlin. Melvin J. Lasky, HICOG editor of the intellectual periodical, Der Monat, was introduced into the formative committee and nominated Acting General Secretary to steer the operation for OPC.

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In the name of an international sponsoring committee(1), invitations to the Congress were extended to prominent intellectual, cultural and labor figures of the Western World or in exile from communist-dominated Eastern countries. The complicated task of gathering together these widely-scattered individuals at the site of the Congress required the closest coordination with and cooperation of official and private United States agencies and individuals of many nationalities. The delicate matter of covertly financing the travel and expenses of delegates for example, had to be accomplished with the assistance of three American committees with established interests in international affairs. An enormous amount of organizational detail was handled in Berlin and elsewhere on the continent and in the U. S. under OPC sponsorship and direction. Provision of interpreters, press and radio coverage, an elaborate book display, accommodations for personal comfort and security of the delegates and facilities for the official business of the Congress, were among the problems which had to be solved.

OPC is particularly grateful to the State Department which, through the office of Mr. Bruce Buttles, rendered exceptional and sympathetic cooperation throughout the progress of negotiations and arrangements. This cooperation extended to letters from the State Department to invitees, backing up Committee invitations, a general

(1) The Committee included such names as:

Bertrand Russell, Arthur Koestler, Great Britain; Charles Plisnier, Belgium; David Rousset, Andre Gide, and Andre Malarux, France; Haakon Lie, Norway; Ignasio Silone, Italy; John Dewey and Arthur Schlesinger, U. S.; Carlo Schmid, Germany; Dennis Rougemont, Switzerland.

to be supported by funds of CIC and delegates were characterized as American police spies and war mongers. In the U. S., considerable coverage was given by the N. Y. Times, N. Y. Herald Tribune, Baltimore Sun, Washington Star and other papers. Additional coverage is expected in periodicals in the form of reviews and feature articles. In recording the opening of the Congress, the Christian Science Monitor referred to the fact that it was being held just one month after the Communists had staged the greatest totalitarian youth meeting ever held in Europe. The Monitor went on to say:

> "There is as much difference between these gatherings as can be imagined. The one emphasized numbers and blind obedience to collectivism. The other will be composed of a select company of noted public leaders and scholars from the Western World and will stress the all-importance of freedom of expression and of human rights."

In its deliberations, the cultural and intellectual slavery imposed by the Soviet Union and her satellite states was emphatically and repeatedly denounced. The attack by North Korea was immediately seized upon by delegates and made the subject of vigorous repudiation. In this connection, it is significant that the delegates were not bound, limited, or instructed in any way.(1) It was well known that one delegate, Dr. Hans Thirring, Austrian atomic scientist, had prepared a speech which contained a considerable amount of criticism of the Western democracies. The speech had been printed and distributed to delegates in advance of the session. When the Korean news

(1) While no control was exercised over papers and statements of delegates, it was necessary that the general course of business and tenor of the Congress be held within the bounds of the original concept. This was accomplished by an informal steering committee the key member of which was a highly respected, internationally famous delegate, who was also an OPC agent.

broke, he stood before the Congress and, amidst cheers, openly repudiated his prepared document, stating that in view of the cynical Korean aggression he would confine himself to a denunciation of communist despotism.

The Congress delegates represented many divergent backgrounds and philosophies. They were free to express any opinion. Yet at no period during the five days of discussion, debate and oratory was there any critism of the U. S. or of its policy in the Far East. U. S. policy was, in fact, vigorously defended by a number of delegates, including Haakon Lie, noted Norwegian labor leader.

The Congress unanimously approved the following "Letter to the East", a message to writers, authors and scientists behind the Iron curtain:

> "The great conflict now raging in the world is not a conflict between East and West. It is not a conflict between peoples. We definitely reject the accusation that we who have come together from many countries and different parts of the world are hostile to the peoples of Russia and the countries subjected to the domination of the Stalin dictatorship. Quite the reverse: we have amongst us representatives of those peoples.
>
> "We are deeply convinced that the problem of the freedom of the peoples who are today enslaved under the Stalin dictatorship and the problem of ensuring freedom and peace throughout the world are inseparably linked.
>
> "All those who fight for freedom against oppression can be assured of our unlimited solidarity."

Deliberations of the Congress concluded with a unanimous manifesto (see Tab A) in which the delegates rejected the idea of neutrality in the struggle between freedom and tyranny and stated that intellectuals should not stand silent on the sidelines but should

adhere to the defense of freedom and indeed to the expansion of freedom.[1] Acting on a joint proposal of the Congress, and the Assembly of the City of Berlin, Lord Mayor Reuter announced a resolution to establish a memorial in honor of all those who have fallen under totalitarian tyranny, the monument to be erected in the British sector near the Brandenburg gate.[2]

The final action of the Congress was self-perpetuation in the form of a Standing Continuation Committee which in turn selected an Executive Committee, consisting of:

Ignazio Silone
David Rousset
Arthur Koestler
Irving Brown
Carlo Schmid

Francois Bondy was elected Field Secretary of the Executive Committee, which will maintain offices in Paris and Berlin.

---

(1) Among the supporting statements were those of:

Arthur Koestler:	"The Congress has unified all intellectuals who are not communists around a program for cultural freedom. We are prepared to take the offensive."
Ignazio Silone:	"We men of the resistance propose to form a new league of resistance to totalitarianism everywhere."
Robert Montgomery:	"There is no neutral corner in the field of freedom. If an artist shrinks from the fight for freedom he dies twice. For he dies as an artist before he dies as a man.

(2) The idea of a permanent monument was "suggested" to Mayor Reuter by one of the delegates. Reuter, himself a victim of totalitarian oppression, pushed it through enthusiastically.

IV. Future Plans

The first meeting of the Executive Committee, which will be controlled by OPC, is scheduled for Paris, in September, at which time arrangements will be made for future sessions of the Congress and the continued exploitation of its activities and the anti-communist declarations of its members.

OPC plans for the exploitation of this operation called for clandestine dissemination of the output of the Congress, especially its resolutions, speeches and manifestos, throughout East Germany and the Soviet satellites. East Germany has already been covered once, through a special edition of the Neue Zeitung and reports carried by other papers which the OPC mission subsidizes and secretly distributes in Soviet Germany.

Plans are now being perfected for circulation, in a number of languages, of millions of copies of the speeches, declarations and resolutions of the Congress. Much of this material has already been carried by the Voice of America and by Radio RIAS. Since the Congress has determined to perpetuate itself through a Continuation Committee, OPC will encourage additional statements and declarations by key persons, these also to be distributed throughout the satellite area. Many millions of people, some of them cut off from any news of resistance to communist tyranny over the thoughts of men, will be informed that not only are the philosophers and scientists and cultural leaders of the world outraged at the attempted obliteration of intellectual freedom, but that they propose to fight it.

The project is a continuing one. There will be other sessions of the Cultural Congress and further dissemination of the voices of men who are free to say what they think and thus bring to those still enslaved the message that they too may hope to be free.

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FROM: III/RE - D & P

Date Received: DEC 10 ...

NO. 323 - CF6WH

DATE 8 Dec 1950

TO	ROOM NO	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. C/EE		SAS given me on 13 June			DISTRIBUTION:
2.					Copy 1 of 3 [✓] Attachments 1 ___ 3 ___ 2 ___ 4 ___
3. Farmer	Recd & have filed			T/F	Copy 2 of 3 [ ] Attachments 1 C/EE 4 ___ 2 EE-3 5 ___ 3 ___ 6 ___
4.	PDQUICK				
5.					Copy 3 of 3 [ ] Attachments 1 C/EE 2 EAD 3 III/RE-file
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FIELD DISPATCH

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

10—61136-1 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

State telegram requesting priority cooperation of all Consular officers in providing entry permits for delegates, several cables expressing overall interest and extraordinarily complete arrangements to cover the Congress by VOA. To accomplish this latter mission, VOA's special representative in Berlin made elaborate arrangements for re-broadcasting from New York.

III. The Sessions of the Congress

The Congress convened in Berlin on 26 June 1950 and consisted of more than 100 representatives of 16 nations.(1) It was officially welcomed by the City of Berlin and was greeted with an outpouring of publicity in the European and American press.

The impact of the Congress on the press of Europe cannot be recorded fully at this time. Clippings and a complete operational report have not yet been received from the field. There are many known indications, however, that it was furiously opposed by the communist press. Soviet-sponsored papers and Radio Berlin denounced delegates as the hounds of Wall Street and even accused Congress members of setting fire to the House of Soviet Culture. The Congress was said

(1) Among the leading delegates: Great Britain - R. H. S. Crossman, MP, author, editor of New Statesman and Nation; Arthur Koestler, author; Herbert Read, art critic, poet, novelist. France - Henri Frenay, editor; Suzanne Labin, author; Andre Malraux, author; Gabriel Marcel, philosopher; Andre Philip, professor of economics; Jules Romains, novelist. Germany - Franz Borkenau, historian and journalist; Anna Siemsen, educator, Carlo Schmid, political scientist, educator. USA - Sidney Hook, educator and philosopher; Irving Brown, labor leader; George Schuyler, editor; H. J. Mueller, Professor of Biology, Nobel prize winner; A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History. Switzerland - Francois Bondy, editor; Wilhelm Roepke, Sociologist and economist. Norway - Haakon Lie, labor leader. Italy - Ignazio Silone, Novelist; Franco Lombardi, philosopher. Russia - Nicolai Andreyev, literary critic, lecturer; Boris Nicolaevsky, historian. Holland - Hendryk Brugmans, Professor. Turkey - Aslan Humbaraci, Journalist. Czechoslovakia - Karel Kupka, Professor. Sweden - Ture Nerman, poet and editor.

SECRET

8 ~~11~~ December 1950

32>-C:GMU

SUBJECT: American Ballet

TO: Chief, FJCAPE
Washington, D. C.

INFO: Chief, DTRAPED

ATTN: Joseph K. Stribling

1. For the reasons outlined below, we have been forced to take emergency action on the following matters.

2. During the period of preparation for FDQUICK, Mallison had in hand a project which involved bringing the American Ballet to Berlin for a brief series of performances in both the east and west sectors of the city. We encouraged him in this idea, since the performance dates coincided with FDQUICK, and would have added substantially to the culture surrounding the central event. Mallison, however, was faced with a complicated financing problem, since the business manager of the ballet company wouldn't accept marks, and Mallison had no dollars for such purposes. At that time we indicated, because of the advantage to FDQUICK, that we would resolve his difficulty by exchanging his money for him.

3. For a variety of reasons, the ballet was delayed and couldn't include Berlin during the period in question. We regarded the deal as dead and put it out of our minds, but not Mallison. He chose to regard our commitment as open, and without consulting us until today, has obligated himself to pay 3050 green dollars to the ballet company, which is arriving in Berlin tomorrow, and whose business manager expects to be paid immediately on arrival. Both Mallison, and indirectly Balster, have appealed to us to take him off the hook. We have informed him that such deals are contrary to FJCAPE policy, and anyway our original reason for considering such assistance is no longer operative. But because he and his shop are extremely useful to us in a variety of ways, we have told him we might perform the service of exchanging his marks on the open market, citing a six-to-one rate as probably the best obtainable.

4. Regardless of what Mallison has been told, we do not wish to involve this mission in local open market transactions. We are, therefore, exchanging from our funds here 3050 green dollars for 18,300 Deutsche marks from Mallison. He will, of course, obtain a mark receipt from the ballet company's business manager in order to keep his books straight, and no paper outside FJCAPE files referring to this matter will exist. We believe this operation secure and not disadvantageous to FJCAPE from either a financial or influence standpoint.

Glenny saw & approved this deposit in draft prior to his departure

S. SPAETH

SECRET

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: III/RE - D & P

Date Received: DEC 8

NO. 323-CF6100

DATE 8 Dec. 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. C/EE					DISTRIBUTION: KRIAGL Copy 1 of 3 ☐ ~~Attachments~~ 1 C/EE 3 2 EE-2 4 Copy 2 of 3 ☑ ~~Attachments~~ 1 4 2 5 3 6 Copy 3 of 3 ☐ ~~Attachments~~ 1 C/EE 2 EAD 3 III/RE-file
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FIELD DISPATCH

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

KAPOK [?]

323-CFOWU

11 December 1950

SUBJECT: American Ballet

TO: Chief, FJCAPE
Washington, D. C.

INFO: Chief, DTRAPID

ATTN: Joseph K. Stribling

1. For the reasons outlined below, we have been forced to take emergency action on the following matters.

2. During the period of preparation for PDQUICK, Mallison had in hand a project which involved bringing the American Ballet to Berlin for a brief series of performances in both the east and west sectors of the city. We encouraged him in this idea, since the performance dates coincided with PDQUICK, and would have added substantially to the culture surrounding the central event. Mallison, however, was faced with a complicated financing problem, since the business manager of the ballet company wouldn't accept marks, and Mallison had no dollars for such purposes. At that time we indicated, because of the advantage to PDQUICK, that we would resolve his difficulty by exchanging his money for him.

3. For a variety of reasons, the ballet was delayed and couldn't include Berlin during the period in question. We regarded the deal as dead and put it out of our minds, but not Mallison. He chose to regard our commitment as open, and without consulting us until today, has obligated himself to pay 3050 green dollars to the ballet company, which is arriving in Berlin tomorrow, and whose business manager expects to be paid immediately on arrival. Both Mallison, and indirectly Balster, have appealed to us to take him off the hook. We have informed him that such deals are contrary to FJCAPE policy, and anyway our original reason for considering such assistance is no longer operative. But because he and his shop are extremely useful to us in a variety of ways, we have told him we might perform the service of exchanging his marks on the open market, citing a six-to-one rate as probably the best obtainable.

4. Regardless of what Mallison has been told, we do not wish to involve this mission in local open market transactions. We are, therefore, exchanging from our funds here 3050 green dollars for 18,300 Deutsche marks from Mallison. He will, of course, obtain a mark receipt from the ballet company's business manager in order to keep his books straight, and no paper outside FJCAPE files referring to this matter will exist. We believe this operation secure and not disadvantageous to FJCAPE from either a financial or influence standpoint.

HERBERT S. SPAETH

KAPOK [?]

14-00000

Content	Date
cc: memo, 7 June 51	26 Feb 51
Addendum to Handling Letter of Instructions	

SECRET

11 September 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: ADPC

VIA: EE

SUBJECT: Unclassified HICOG report on Congress of Cultural Freedom

REFERENCE: ADPC memorandum of 21 August, same subject

1. In regard to the recommendations contained in paragraph 6 of reference memorandum, an inquiry was sent to the Chief of the German Mission to determine the author of subject report and the circumstances surrounding its preparation. On 6 September the German Mission Chief replied as follows:

a. Subject report was one of three requested by Mr. [illegible] Stone from Mr. Kenneth Downs, Mr. Melvin Lasky, and Mr. Ralf Von Eckart, the latter being Deputy Chief of the Editorial Projection Branch, ISD. Subject report, sent to State Department, is verbatim as prepared by Mr. Von Eckart.

b. Mr. Von Eckart was present throughout the Congress and required no assistance or guidance in preparation of this report. It is considered unlikely that he had in mind promoting the interests of Mr. Lasky, with whom he had a sharp disagreement concerning press relations. Mr. Von Eckart originally went to the Congress expecting to handle the press but was abruptly cut off by Lasky to make way for another individual.

c. The document was not classified by HICOG because it was considered to contain nothing of a classified nature; there was no internal HICOG distribution of it outside of Mr. Stone's Public Affairs Division.

d. The original report bears a notation by Mr. William J. Egan, Chief of ISD, to the effect that he considered it "relatively objective". The Chief of our German Mission himself considers the report a fair summary of HICOG's quite enthusiastic reaction to the Congress as a whole.

e. It is known to the Chief of the German Mission that Lasky is not aware of the existence of subject report.

2. This report was handled in a quite routine manner upon receipt by the State Department here, getting neither highly limited nor highly wide-spread distribution. In addition to the Office of German Affairs, it went also to United Nations Affairs, Office of Libraries and Institutions, Mr. Barrett's division, and the division concerned with international organizations and conferences. So far as Mr. Bruce Buttles, who has been most discreet and helpful to us throughout the Congress matter, has been able to find out the report created no particular stir one way or the other.

[illegible] RDCUICK

3. There have been no recent incidents involving Mr. Lasky, and it appears at this point that control of him is well in hand.

4. Mr. Lasky's own report of the Congress is written in narrative rather than editorial style. It emphasizes primarily the favorable aspects of the Congress but does not go completely overboard and makes no mention whatever of Lasky's own part in it. It does not appear at all to be an ax-grinding document but simply one which was written in a flush of enthusiasm.

5. EE-3 is retaining subject report in the PDQuick file.

John E. Baker

JEB/njh
cc: CFC File
CFC Chrono
SP
EE-3 Chrono
EE-3 PDQUICK file

14-00000

486418 K-2455

FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 13

SECURITY: SECRET PRIORITY: AIR POUCH RETAIN OR DESTROY

761.00/7-2650

TO: Department of State

FROM: HICOG Frankfurt 260, July 26, 1950 1 Enclosure

REF: Dept Cable Srl No. 1509, 13 Sep 49, to USPOLAD Frankfurt

SUBJECT: PERIPHERAL - ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY OF BORIS IVANOVICH NIKOLAEVSKI.

ACTION: EUR

INFO: DCR, GER, UNA, OLI, S/S, R, G, UNA/R

c

12917

(1)

Enclosed is a memorandum describing the activities of Boris Ivanovich Nikolaevski, head of the socialist League of New York, who has been in Germany for the past six weeks. It will be noted that Mr. Nikolaevski has been endeavoring to establish a bloc of left and center groups within the Russian emigration and that he is hopeful of obtaining the support of the executive committee set up by the recent Congress for Cultural Freedom in Berlin for a congress to be held in Paris attended by representatives of so-called "democratic" groups within the Russian emigration and by democratic figures from Western Europe and the United States.

XR 861.411

It is recommended that the Department give serious consideration to the position which it should take with respect to Nikolaevski's proposal. If plans are proceeding to create a unified front within the Russian emigration which would receive American support in accordance with the recommendations set forth in the Halley report, it would appear inadvisable at this stage to give any official encouragement to a congress of Russian groups which would not be fully representative and would therefore tend to emphasize divergent trends within the emigration rather than minimizing differences and endeavoring to enlist broad support within the emigration for a program of anti-Communist activity.

B. R. Shute
Director
Office of Intelligence

Enclosure:
Memorandum

Distribution:
American Embassy, Paris
HICOG Eastern Element, Berlin

FBStevens/ams

SECRET

THIS IS NOT A PERMANENT RECORD COPY.

SECRET

Enclosure to HICOG Frankfurt
Despatch No., July 26, 1950

ACTIVITIES IN GERMANY OF BORIS IVANOVICH NIKOLAEVSKI

Boris Ivanovich Nikolaevski, the well-known Russian historian and journalist and head of the New York socialist League, has been in Germany for the past six weeks attempting to line up support for a bloc of Russian groups of the left and center and to promote a congress of "democratic" elements within the emigration which he hopes to convene in Paris in the fall under the sponsorship of the executive committee created at the recent Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Nikolaevski is a man of great energy and of very considerable stature among the Russian refugees in Germany. By virtue of his long-standing record as a social democrat he has excellent contacts with German social-democratic and trade union circles and has been personally acquainted with many of the present leaders of these organizations since his residence in Berlin in the early 30's. He also enjoys wide confidence among Russian refugees by virtue of the fact that he was the first old Russian emigre of any stature to come to Germany after the war in an effort to give encouragement and assistance to members of the new Russian emigration.

Nikolaevski has divided his time between Munich, Berlin and Frankfurt and has talked with a constant stream of visitors.

He has also made numerous side trips to seek out refugees in whom he is interested. His principal objective has been to unite as many of the progressive or, as he calls them, "democratic" Russian groups as possible in an organization which will concentrate on the struggle against Communism. He has succeeded in establishing close personal relations with Boris Aleksandrovich Yakovlev, head of SBONR (Fighting Union for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia), and has also interested SVOD, the military twin of SBONR, and the Solidarists (NTS) in his plan. As far as I have been able to discover, however, no agreement has been reached between these groups for the formation of a united organization, and NTS, following its customary practice, has indicated a willingness to cooperate but has not committed itself beyond that point. Nikolaevski anticipates some opposition to his project from the left wing of the New York League by virtue of the Vlasovite antecedents of these organizations, but feels that he can eventually gain the support of his own organization. It is presumed that final negotiations for the establishment of the new organization will take place only after Nikolaevski returns to New York and gains League endorsement of his activities in Germany.

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After the Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom, in which Nikolaevski played a prominent and enthusiastic role, he conceived a new project, namely the convocation of a conference in Paris under the sponsorship of the permanent executive committee created at the Berlin Congress. The Paris congress would be attended by "democratic" Russian emigres, both old and new, as well as by "democratic" leaders and intellectuals from Western Europe and the United States, including a number who attended the Berlin conference. The principal purpose of the Paris congress would be propagandistic; it would, in Nikolaevski's words, constitute a demonstration of the solidarity of anti-Communist sentiment among the Russian emigration and the democratic forces of the Western world.

Nikolaevski is a convinced and doctrinaire socialist and is firmly opposed to cooperation with or apparently even exposure to those groups within the emigration which are not ideologically sympathetic to him. His particular antipathy is directed toward the Supreme Monarchist Council (VMS) and its president, Yuri Meyer, who, he claims, is manipulated by the sinister behind-the-scenes figure of Colonel Baranovski. He can produce no evidence beyond rumor to support his allegations regarding the role of Colonel Baranovski who himself has personally denied to me in the most emphatic terms that he plays any political role whatsoever. It is a striking coincidence that Colonel Neryanin, the head of SVOD, one of the organizations which Nikolaevski includes in his proposed union, is one of the principal assistants in the intelligence network of Colonel Baranovski, who expresses the highest regard for him.

I suggested to Nikolaevski, and discussed with him at considerable length, the desirability of broadening the proposed Paris congress to include representatives of all the principal groups represented in the emigration. I pointed out that the propaganda value of a congress in which the principal elements in the emigration were represented would be substantially greater than that of a meeting with only fragmentary representation; that a meeting from which certain influential groups were excluded might result in a rival congress which would merely underline the diversive trends within the emigration and tend to crystallize them; that a congress meeting under the banner of democracy should be prepared to permit a democratic expression of opinion; and that participation in a meeting of this kind with rival groups would in no sense constitute endorsement or approval of their programs. To these arguments Nikolaevski turned a deaf ear. He stands firmly on the position that the social democrats, whom he consistently refers to as "democrats," cannot afford to compromise themselves or endanger their standing with the Russian people by the slightest evidence of cooperation with the right wing.

Nikolaevski is extremely anxious to gain the blessing of the United States Government for his Paris venture. I told him frankly that while I was in no position to express an official opinion and could not venture a guess as to Washington's' reaction, it seemed unlikely to me that the American Government could afford to take sides in the internal political struggle within the Russian emigration, and that until the emigre groups succeeded in reconciling their own differences and were prepared to concentrate their efforts against the Soviet regime rather than against each other, the American Government would hardly be in a position to associate itself in any way with them. Nikolaevski replied that the anti-Communist struggle itself was an inadequate program and that something positive must be offered to the Russian people. I agreed to this position but suggested that a united program on which emigration could agree would probably have much greater impact than a variety of programs offered by competing groups. Nikolaevski, however, stuck to his ideological guns.

Nikolaevski was considerably perturbed by news he received just before his departure from Frankfurt to the effect that Yakovlev had been approached by Colonel Kromiadi, who is nominated in the Kelley memorandum as the leader of the united front organization, to lend the support of SBONR to an emigre congress to be convened in Munich. Yakovlev had gained the impression that this project had American support, although Kromiadi had apparently made no explicit statement to this effect. He had based his arguments on the broad concept of united emigre effort against the Soviet regime and had indicated that it would be a congress of Russian patriots rather than of representatives of emigre organizations. This appeal had obviously made a considerable impression on Yakovlev, who is much less ideologically minded than Nikolaevski and much more inclined to ally himself with any activity which he feels can effectively bring pressure against the Soviets. Nikolaevski, while expressing high personal regard for Colonel Kromiadi, immediately attributed this project to the machinations of Meyer and Baranovski and adopted a completely negative attitude toward it. I told him that I had had no previous knowledge of the project and that I felt reasonably sure that it did not enjoy American support.

Nikolaevski plans to proceed to France and attend the first meeting of the executive committee established at the Berlin Congress in an effort to interest them in his project for a congress of Russian emigres.

C O M M E N T

If Nikolaevski in his intransigent position is supported by his organization, which I assume will be the case, it will present a serious obstacle to any plans for uniting the forces of the Russian emigration in the anti-Communist struggle. Nikolaevski's ideological principles are so firmly enrooted that it appears unlikely that anything will shake them or that he can be persuaded to cooperate with groups whose political views differ markedly from his own. Nikolaevski's name and pen carry great influence among Russian emigres and it is most desirable that they be utilized to the utmost. It would be neither realistic nor practical, however, to accept Nikolaevski's position and thereby eliminate other influential groups within the emigration. One solution for this dilemma might be to ignore the extremist groups, right and left, which refuse to participate in the common effort and concentrate primarily on the new emigration who are more flexible in their political ideas and whose understanding of the Soviet regime is more recent and more profound. The extremists will then be faced with the alternative of carrying on alone or of making peace with their consciences and joining the common cause.

Francis B. Stevens

CONFIDENTIAL

14 August 1950

Q2/224

The following views of LEGOVNOV on the Berlin Congress have been reported as of interest to the sponsors of the Congress.

1. The Berlin Congress is regarded in France as a movement exclusively of the extreme left, of former Communists and present non-Stalinite Marxists. Observers regard with disfavor the fact that the Congress was extremely mild in its attack against the Soviet regime. They point out that:

   (a) The Soviet regime as such is not mentioned in a single resolution, which limited themselves to the condemning "totalitarian regimes."

   (b) The issuance of an anti-Franco resolution in the absence of an anti-Stalin resolution is significant.

   (c) The refusal to recognize the representatives of the Russian NTS group present at the Congress as "listed delegates" confirms the extreme leftist nature of the Congress.

CONFIDENTIAL Q2/224

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: EE-3

NO.

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. CEE		2	21 aug		to 1:
2. EAD		22 Aug	22 Aug		FGW may wish to see this. Please return for ...
3.					
4. EE-3	AUG 22 1950				
5. WE-III					1 to 2: This reports Baker's conversation with Hambley re Berlin Cultural Congress. This conversation had pursuant to ADPC instruction. Do you think ADPC wants to see this?
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					Noted.
14.					
15.					File: PP3 ...

FORM NO. 51.10
APR 1948

SECRET

EE-801

18 August 1950

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Congress for Cultural Freedom

1. On 15 August, I discussed the Berlin Cultural Congress with Kenneth H. Hambley, with particular emphasis on the problem of bringing the continuing Congress organization under control and, at the same time, expanding it into an effective anti-communist weapon.

2. I expressed to Hambley our concern over the manner in which Charles A. Skeggs had conducted himself during the Congress, and Hambley replied that he had been equally concerned. He said, however, that while Skeggs activities had caused an unfavorable reaction on the part of a number of the delegates, that reaction had been more directed against Skeggs personally than against him as a representative of the government. Hambley agreed with my suggestion that two bits of silver lining could be found in the Skeggs cloud, namely that he had taken most of the opposition heat himself, thus sparing some of our other people, and that he had conducted himself like anything but the "Polizeispitzel" the communist press of Germany made him out to be. In fact, said Hambley, Skeggs general attitude was such as to cause some of the delegates to disremember that Skeggs was attached to the government in any fashion or presumably subject to any discipline at all.

3. Hambley said that most of the delegates with whom he had talked were perfectly willing to accept the explanation that the Congress was smiled upon by the United States Government to the extent that some official funds were supplied for the physical staging of the meeting (as indeed they were) but that the rest of the money came from somewhat vague unofficial sources in the United States. Those who suspected something more, with the exception of the Trevor-Roper group, were generally happy that the United States was doing something of this kind and were in no mood to ask any embarrassing questions or raise any delicate points.

4. I asked Hambley what he thought his future role in the Congress should be. He replied that he was perfectly willing to undertake any activities we asked him to undertake but personally felt he should retire into the background as rapidly as possible.

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I told him that feeling coincided entirely with our own views and that we would expect him to conduct himself in that fashion. It was agreed that he should continue as a member of the International Committee of Twenty-five but should take no active overt part in organizational or policy matters and would operate behind the scenes only when so directed.

5. I discussed with him the problem raised by the presence of David Rousset and Ignazio Silone on the Executive Committee. Hambley agreed that neither of these individuals could be considered fully reliable but explained it had been impossible to exclude them from the Committee because of their prominence and the interests which they represented. He said he [illegible] Rousset as a person who considered himself basically on the American side even though from time to time he had to make noises of a sort to satisfy his leftist constituents. He also described Rousset as a bit of a bluffer who could be handled by a combination of firmness and tact, particularly so long as he continued to desire to be an American ally. Hambley described Silone as a more complex case--a vain, egocentric person of strong intellect but weak will and an inept politician who insisted on engaging in politics solely to satisfy his ego. Hambley said Silone probably would have been lost to the cause entirely had he not been given a prominent role including a position on the Executive Committee but that, as it was, he appeared on the surface now to be a convert, albeit a dubious one. Hambley expressed belief, however, that Silone could be controlled if handled expertly and that, if worst came to worst, he could be separated from the Committee without disastrous effect. Hambley said that in his opinion Arthur Koestler and Carlo Schmid were altogether reliable politically and could be depended upon to counterbalance Silone and Rousset even though it would be unwise to take them fully into confidence as to the nature of the Congress' backing. Irving Brown, of course, is considered completely reliable.

6. Inasmuch as the Executive Committee is a creature of the Committee of Twenty-five and draws its membership from that Committee, the latter constitutes the real point of control in the Congress organization. The Committee of Twenty-five, as it stands, is reliable on balance. If necessary, it could be weighted more heavily in our favor by exercise of the privilege of co-opting additional members on whom we could depend, Hambley said. He suggested that it might be well to establish a principle either of rotating members of the Executive Committee or of conducting regular elections of the parent Committee of Twenty-five, probably preferably the latter. This mechanism would provide means whereby obstreperous Executive Committee members might be sidetracked. Hambley agreed that this might prove a workable scheme.

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John E. Baker

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FROM: ADPC	NO.
	DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Acting CEE		[illegible]	8 aug	[illegible]	1 & 2: Please talk to me about this very promptly [illegible]
2. Baker EE III					
3. WE-III					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

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EE III 19

14-00000

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8 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. BRECKINRIDGE

SUBJECT: Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom; activities of Melvin Lasky.

REFERENCE: Memo fr EE-3/Glaser to CEE dtd 4 Aug 50 w/atts (TS42928).

1. I continue to be very disturbed about the manner in which this entire matter has been conducted, including the non-observance of my original memorandum of 7 April 1950, in which I approved this project, subject to the condition that Lasky would not be permitted to figure publicly in this operation. The memorandum of Mr. Glaser and the conversations which I have had with Messrs. Lindsay and Baker have done very little to relieve my apprehension on the score that no effective action to exclude Lasky from continuing to play a blatantly conspicuous role either has or will be taken by us.

2. I submit that paragraph six of the reference memorandum, in both tone and content, is entirely unsatisfactory for the following reasons:

a. It fails to reveal any appropriate acknowledgment or comprehension of the damage which has resulted from Mr. Lasky's conduct. This was a major blunder, has been branded as such by our best friends in the State Department, has been revealed as such by the publicity which is analyzed in the reference memorandum itself and must be acknowledged by the responsible members of our staff both here and in Germany.

b. It betrays an unfortunate tendency, apparently more deeprooted than I had suspected, to succumb to the temptation of convenience (doing things the easy way) and irrespective of security and other technical considerations of the utmost importance.

3. I have stated to Mr. Lindsay orally and I want to make myself completely clear on this point that unless means can be found to sanitize this operation by the removal of Lasky, Burnham and other persons of known or traceable official significance from overt roles in the proposed continuing organization, then I am unwilling to have OPC

continue

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continue its backing. I repeat my request that this be delivered to the field as an instruction and that it be so regarded and acted upon within this headquarters. I do not wish to create the impression that I am in any way opposed to the continuation of the operation, provided it can be sanitized and handled with a greater degree of sophistication and technical expert-ease than has characterized our performance up to date. However, I do not wish to be associated with any repetition of what we have seen thus far.

F.G.W.

F.G.W.

FGW:lgw

P.S. Since dictating the foregoing, I have just learned from General Magruder that he showed our report on this Congress to Secretary Johnson, together with his own very complimentary appraisal of the operation. Secretary Johnson was so favorably impressed with this report and General Magruder's comment that he took the papers over and showed them to the President, who expressed himself as being very well pleased. I can only hope that the very rough edges which have recently appeared are not brought too sharply to the attention of these lofty officials. In any case this development underscores in red everything which I have said about the necessity for tidying up this operation and eliminating all of the "Irish pennants".

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: [illegible]

NO. 23549

DATE AUG 14 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Mr. Baker				[illegible]	Chad = Do you think FGW would like to see this?
2. EE		2	11 Aug	[illegible]	
3. ~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]					
4.					[illegible]
5. ADPC		11 Aug	14 Aug	FGW/w	
6. EE-III	[illegible]	AUG 14 1950		[illegible]	
7.					
8.					2 to 5: I think you
9.					will be interested in
10.					reading this - particularly
11.					in the light of our
12.					recent conversations.
13.					5 to 2 and 6:
14.					Please see marginal
15.					notations and underlinings. What are we doing to strengthen and build up this position along these lines? FGW

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

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EE-120

14-00000

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9 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BAKER

SUBJECT : PDJUICK; Conference with Mr. Burnham

1. In the first of a series of talks with Mr. Burnham, following his return from Europe, a broad coverage of the Cultural Congress was explored as well as post-Congress plans and proceedings.

2. I went into very little detail with Mr. Burnham as to the eventual setup of the Congress as a permanent institution except to suggest that it had very broad and far-reaching implications and would be carefully studied and pursued within the next few weeks. Mr. Burnham, however, expressed his point of view (which is to be further explored in other meetings this week) as follows:

a. The continuation of the Congress as a going concern of intended permanence is now a fact. (We know that there is an executive committee, an operating committee and that the institution of a Paris Office has been authorized.) Overtly, a permanent Congress for Cultural Freedom can vastly improve the climate of opinion throughout Europe, at least, to the extent that it may considerably counter Soviet propaganda and may very well affect large groups of people far beyond the point of neutrality, perhaps to resistance. Also overtly, the Congress can utilize its participants in various forms of writing, speaking, and political action. Covertly, the Congress can perform a number of useful functions, including maintenance of contact with various resistance groups, forwarding money to such groups, spreading of clandestine propaganda and other purposes. No great pretentions are necessary in connection with the establishment of the Congress as a permanent institution, though a small office in Paris and another in Berlin are indicated. The sponsorship of a French Intellectual Periodical seems to be one of the most pressing and one of the best ideas, and Aron is enthusiastic about it and is willing to work for such a magazine as editor. Other members of the Congress, Yakevlew, for instance, are willing to work on Congress publications and both Koestler and Huber-Neunan are very anxious to take part in the literary and political activities. Bondy is a very useful man, apparently entirely reliable and a good writer and organizer; he knows languages and knows European politics.

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b. The impact of the Congress on Berlin was terrific and Reuter's part magnificent. The whole city was very eager and receptive and paid an extraordinary amount of attention to all of the Congress activities. The book display at the Congress itself was only fairly effective, but was extremely telling in the book stores throughout Western sectors, which made special displays of the books and photographs of the authors. Broadcasting by radio RIAS seems to have been more or less nominal, although RIAS cut tapes of all of the Congress speeches, but the Voice of America team did a first-class and absolutely outstanding job. The Congress was given big coverage by VOA in several languages. In addition to the records of European publicity that are on hand, a considerable additional amount was produced. For instance, there was daily broadcasting of a French radio station and sporadic broadcasting coverage by other stations. There was a large amount of publicity in France and England and a substantial amount in Italy, Sweden and other countries. Special articles are still appearing in the European press and periodicals. The influence of the Congress on a number of important literary and political leaders appears to be very significant. This was especially true in the case of Frenay and Silone, both of whom under-went an apparent conversion due to the operations of the Congress. On the other hand, the composition of the Congress was unbalanced nationally and also because it was too leftist, too radical.

c. The irritation caused by the Trevor-Roper article in the Manchester Guardian was a reflection of the attitude of three members of the British delegation, Trevor-Roper, Ayer, and Peter de Mendelssohn. Actually, Mendelssohn (an old buddy of Lasky's) was the cause of the trouble. He is a second-rate writer, a neurotic, frustrated intellectual, who had a chip on his shoulder and unquestionably inspired Trevor-Roper and Ayer with his spirit of antagonism. Another complication was the fact that Ayer and Koestler have been intellectual rivals and bitterly dislike each other. Ayer was infuriated by Koestler's prominence and communicated this antagonism to Trevor-Roper. The latter is an excessively conceited man (Burnham added at this point that almost all intellectuals are excessively conceited) and was openly annoyed because he did not figure in the proceedings with sufficient prominence. ("Incidentally," says Burnham, "Trevor-Roper's description of Koestler as a 'rootless European' follows Pravda, which uses that term as a general description for Jews.") The annoyance felt by Trevor-Roper and Ayer at their relegation to minor roles in comparison to Koestler found its outlet in articles which both of

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these men have written, (Note: We have only seen the one by Trevor-Roper.) and the situation was complicated by the desire of Trevor-Roper to maintain a high and academic objectivity in relation to world affairs, whereas the delegates to the Congress insisted on making it a realistic denunciation of the Communist strangle-hold on culture and intellectual freedom. Koestler epitomizes the lofty philosophical viewpoint by saying, "Do you want partial liberty or total slavery?" Lasky has written a reply, over his name, to Trevor-Roper.

d. Melvin Lasky is granted the qualities of ability, courage, hard work and political intuition but he is, at the same time, the most vain and egocentric individual imaginable. In addition to which, he is an intellectual snob and a publicity hound. Also, he definitely is not reliable, cannot be counted upon to do things that he should do unless they work in with his own ideas. He has the Russian Menshevik point of view which is simply that of useless intrigue for the sake of intrigue. His intellectual snobbery was indicated in his process of meeting delegates. If they were very important, he went to meet them with his personal car and driver--along with newspaper photographers. If they were reasonably important, a private car was sent for them. If they were ordinary delegates, they was given transportation on a bus. At least one delegate was contacted by Burnham and arrangements were made with Lasky to invite him but no invitation was sent. In the case of Max Yergin, Lasky succeeded in humiliating him and in the case of Yakevlev, Lasky at first refused to print his name on the program at all. Lasky has done a wonderful job with Der Monat and there is no question as to his natural ability and capacity for hard work but it is difficult to see how he can be used in any outstanding position in connection with a continuation of the Congress unless it is in an advisory capacity, possibly in charge of the Berlin office and with a strong hand to subdue his self-advertising proclivities.

3. The above represents Burnham's general views, in some cases expressed spontaneously, in others drawn out by questions, and it is now proposed to have a further meeting and ask him to talk about the development potentialities and techniques.

Glaser
LOUIS GLASER

EIII/LG/mk
cc: EIII Chrono
EIII Subject File
Mr. Schreyer

14-00000

SECRET

9 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. WISNER

SUBJECT: FDQUICK - Existing Organization

1. Pursuant to your oral request of this morning, there are set forth below the elements of subject organization. As you are aware subject is in a fluid stage but, as of 7 July 1950, the following steps had been taken (except that the action described under "a" was taken at the end of the month of July):

a. A small Paris office was opened with M. Louis Gibarti as Secretary, on trial for a two-month period.

b. Letters had been sent out to the honorary Chairmen requesting them to continue to serve in that capacity. These chairmen are: Croce, Dewey, Maritain, Jaspers, and Russell. This action was taken by the Congress in session.

c. An Executive Committee of five had been nominated. This committee consists of Ignazio Silone, David Rousset, Arthur Koestler, Irving Brown and Carlo Schmid. This action was likewise taken by the Congress in session.

d. Also at the Berlin session of the Congress an International Committee of twenty-five was nominated. All but the last five of these were also confirmed. The last five had not been confirmed as of 7 July 1950. The names of these twenty-five individuals follow:

Ignazio Silone	Herbert Read
David Rousset	Denis de Rougemont
Arthur Koestler	Lionello Venturi
Carlo Schmid	Boris Nicolaevsky
Irving Brown	Karel Kupka
Julian Amery	Josef Czapski
Haakon Lie	Margarete Buber-Neumann
James Burnham	Andre Philip
Sidney Hook	Richard Crossman
Nicolas Nabokov	François Mauriac
Eugen Kogon	Pablo Casals
Theodor Plievier	Thornton Wilder

Oskar Pollak

C. D. G. B.
EX/EE

CDGB:T
DISTR:
Orig. - ADPC
CC Chrono & subject - 1
Registry - 2

SECRET

4-00000

News and publicity accomplishments of N.Y. office
=
News coverage out of Berlin by U.S. Correspondents
=
News coverage and ensuing publicity by Messrs. Montgomery and Conant
=
What news coverage in Western Europe?
=
Delegates from Middle East?
=
Last minute invitations issued by Lasky — including more wives?
=
Did Melvin Lasky have a press conference in Berlin? Was Josselson mentioned in publicity at all?
=
What happened to the book displays? (There were no photographs)
=
What was distributed to East Germany, in the form of propaganda, during the Congress?
=
Accounting.

Harkey

[illegible] Montgomery had [illegible]

Also French [illegible] every day

Comp[illegible] is [illegible] [illegible]

B. too [illegible] too [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

Set up not too [illegible]

Influence upon Freeman (Cont[illegible]) and [illegible]

(Harkey [illegible])

Peter de Mendelssohn — source of [illegible]

Trevor-Roper

[illegible]

[illegible] not [illegible]

[illegible] with Koestler [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] not reliable

Impression [illegible] — [illegible] on Berlin was terrific

[illegible] [illegible] magnificent

[illegible] [illegible] eager and [illegible]

[illegible] display was [illegible] effective [illegible] [illegible]



Continuation

Crest

improve climate of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

— to

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]





Crest

[illegible] projects to [illegible]

establishing contacts [illegible] [illegible]

Aron [illegible] to work on magazine as editor

Yakovlev — with [illegible] with [illegible] [illegible]

Bondy — very useful man

[illegible] language

[illegible] European politics

Good contact man — [illegible] — organizer

Koestler

Buber Neumann) prepared to work

decision required as to magazine

14-00000

SECRET

9 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BAKER

SUBJECT : PD JICK; Conference with Mr. Burnham

1. In the first of a series of talks with Mr. Burnham, following his return from Europe, a broad coverage of the Cultural Congress was explored as well as post-Congress plans and proceedings.

2. I went into very little detail with Mr. Burnham as to the eventual setup of the Congress as a permanent institution except to suggest that it had very broad and far-reaching implications and would be carefully studied and pursued within the next few weeks. Mr. Burnham, however, expressed his point of view (which is to be further explored in other meetings this week) as follows:

a. The continuation of the Congress as a going concern of
intended permanence is now a fact. (We know that there is an
executive committee, an operating committee and that the instit-
ution of a Paris Office has been authorized.) Overtly, a perm-
anent Congress for Cultural Freedom can vastly improve the climate
of opinion throughout Europe, at least, to the extent that it may
considerably counter Soviet propaganda and may very well affect
large groups of people far beyond the point of neutrality, per-
haps to resistance. Also overtly, the Congress can utilize its
participants in various forms of writing, speaking, and political
action. Covertly, the Congress can perform a number of useful
functions, including maintenance of contact with various resis-
tance groups, forwarding money to such groups, spreading of clan-
destine propaganda and other purposes. No great pretentions are
necessary in connection with the establishment of the Congress
as a permanent institution, though a small office in Paris and
another in Berlin are indicated. The sponsorship of a French
Intellectual Periodical seems to be one of the most pressing and
one of the best ideas, and Aron is enthusiastic about it and is
willing to work for such a magazine as editor. Other members of
the Congress, Yakovlev, for instance, are willing to work on Con-
gress publications and both Koestler and Huber-Heuner are very
anxious to take part in the literary and political activities.
Bondy is a very useful man, apparently entirely reliable and a
good writer and organizer; he knows languages and knows European
politics.

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b. The impact of the Congress on Berlin was terrific and Reuter's part magnificent. The whole city was very eager and receptive and paid an extraordinary amount of attention to all of the Congress activities. The book display at the Congress itself was only fairly effective, but was extremely telling in the book stores throughout Western sectors, which made special displays of the books and photographs of the authors. Broadcasting by radio RIAS seems to have been more or less nominal, although RIAS cut tapes of all of the Congress speeches, but the Voice of America team did a first-class and absolutely outstanding job. The Congress was given big coverage by VOA in several languages. In addition to the records of European publicity that are on hand, a considerable additional amount was produced. For instance, there was daily broadcasting of a French radio station and sporadic broadcasting coverage by other stations. There was a large amount of publicity in France and England and a substantial amount in Italy, Sweden and other countries. Special articles are still appearing in the European press and periodicals. The influence of the Congress on a number of important literary and political leaders appears to be very significant. This was especially true in the case of Frenay and Silone, both of whom under-went an apparent conversion due to the operations of the Congress. On the other hand, the composition of the Congress was unbalanced nationally and also because it was too leftist, too radical.

c. The irritation caused by the Trevor-Roper article in the Manchester Guardian was a reflection of the attitude of three members of the British delegation, Trevor-Roper, Ayer, and Peter de Mendelssohn. Actually, Mendelssohn (an old buddy of Lasky's) was the cause of the trouble. He is a second-rate writer, a neurotic, frustrated intellectual, who had a chip on his shoulder and unquestionably inspired Trevor-Roper and Ayer with his spirit of antagonism. Another complication was the fact that Ayer and Koestler have been intellectual rivals and bitterly dislike each other. Ayer was infuriated by Koestler's prominence and communicated this antagonism to Trevor-Roper. The latter is an excessively conceited man (Burnham added at this point that almost all intellectuals are excessively conceited) and was openly annoyed because he did not figure in the proceedings with sufficient prominence. ("Incidentally," says Burnham, "Trevor-Roper's description of Koestler as a 'rootless European' follows Pravda, which uses that term as a general description for Jews.") The annoyance felt by Trevor-Roper and Ayer at their relegation to minor roles in comparison to Koestler found its outlet in articles which both of

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-3-

these men have written. (Note: We have only seen the one by Trevor-Roper.) and the situation was complicated by the desire of Trevor-Roper to maintain a high and academic objectivity in relation to world affairs, whereas the delegates to the Congress insisted on making it a realistic denunciation of the Communist strangle-hold on culture and intellectual freedom. Koestler epitomizes the lofty philosophical viewpoint by saying, "Do you want partial liberty or total slavery?" Lasky has written a reply, over his name, to Trevor-Roper.

d. Melvin Lasky is granted the qualities of ability, courage, hard work and political intuition but he is, at the same time, the most vain and egocentric individual imaginable. In addition to which, he is an intellectual snob and a publicity hound. Also, he definitely is not reliable, cannot be counted upon to do things that he should do unless they work in with his own ideas. He has the Russian Menshevik point of view which is simply that of useless intrigue for the sake of intrigue. His intellectual snobbery was indicated in his process of meeting delegates. If they were very important, he went to meet them with his personal car and driver-- along with newspaper photographers. If they were reasonably important, a private car was sent for them. If they were ordinary delegates, they was given transportation on a bus. At least one delegate was contacted by Burnham and arrangements were made with Lasky to invite him but no invitation was sent. In the case of Max Yergin, Lasky succeeded in humiliating him and in the case of Yakovlev, Lasky at first refused to print his name on the program at all. Lasky has done a wonderful job with Der Monat and there is no question as to his natural ability and capacity for hard work but it is difficult to see how he can be used in any outstanding position in connection with a continuation of the Congress unless it is in an advisory capacity, possibly in charge of the Berlin office and with a strong hand to subdue his self-advertising proclivities.

3. The above represents Burnham's general views, in some cases expressed spontaneously, in others drawn out by questions, and it is now proposed to have a further meeting and ask him to talk about the development potentialities and techniques.

LOUIS GLASER

EIII/LG/mk
cc: EIII Chrono
EIII Subject File ✓
Mr. Schreyer

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TOP SECRET

4 August 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: CPP

THROUGH: MR. SCHREYER, EE 3

SUBJECT: Activities of Mr. Melvin Lasky in connection with Congress for Cultural Freedom (Project PDQUICK)

1. This is in response to your request that we examine our files and submit a statement concerning the undue prominence given to Mr. Melvin Lasky in connection with the Cultural Congress.

2. Lasky was publicly identified, early in the preparations for the Congress, as the spark plug and leading light. This unsatisfactory position was anticipated by Mr. Wisner, who, in his approval of Project PDQUICK, cautioned against emphasis on Lasky's participation. (Attachment A).

3. From the beginning, the home office was cognizant of the danger of a spotlight being thrown on any overt U. S. employee, and, in addition to previous warnings, on 7 April cabled specific instructions for the retirement of Lasky to the background. This and other admonitions, from the home office and the OPC German Mission chief, will be found at attachment B.

4. However, a review of the publicity which the Congress received shows an unfortunate amount of concentration on Lasky. In Berlin, for instance, where the Congress received its greatest publicity output, out of 180 newspaper clippings which are available, approximately 15 specifically featured Lasky, some of them photographically. Of the U. S. and British press clippings which were available, several featured Lasky prominently. In a feature article in the New Leader, the subject of which was the Cultural Congress, Lasky was referred to as the initiator of the Congress and he was featured in at least two of the formal press releases which were given out in Berlin. Of the 73 photographs which covered the Congress and which were released for press and historical purposes, Lasky is prominently featured in 6. (a large amount of this publicity material, including photographs, press cuttings and press releases, is available in our files.) While Lasky's part as General Secretary was over-emphasized in a number of newspapers and periodicals, the most damaging article appeared as a review of the Congress in the Manchester Guardian, written by the prominent historian, Mr. H. R. Trevor-Roper in which Lasky was described as connected with American Information Services and the organizer of the Congress. The statement was unfortunate because this was the only critical article of the Congress known to have appeared in the Western press. In passing, it might be mentioned that the London Economist also picked up Lasky's appointment as General Secretary, as suggesting U. S. sponsorship. Its review,

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however, was laudatory and pointed up the sincerity and usefulness of the gathering. The holding of the Congress in Berlin was described as "a gesture of defiance"; the meeting was called an event of "considerable significance" (strong words for the London Economist) and it was referred to as marking, or at least reflecting "a turning point of the western counter-attack in the cold war." "Korea," said the Economist, "made the fortune of the Congress and crystallized the real issue before the delegates." Trevor-Roper, in a letter to the Economist, commenting on its article, was much more temperate than in his article in the Guardian. For example, in the Economist he declared, "We were almost all united against Communism from the start."

5. At this point, it should be specified that from the time the Congress was first discussed, it was recognized that the Communist press would indict it as a fascist, war mongering, propaganda group operating under the intelligence auspices of the U. S. and that this accusation would be broadcast by the Communist machine (as it was) whether or not, in fact the Congress had been under any external controls. It was also recognized that the General Secretary of the Congress would inevitably receive a certain amount of attention from the press. It seems to be clear, however, that this amount of attention was unnecessarily large.

6. Notwithstanding the undue personal publicity achieved by Mr. Lasky, it is significant that:

a. He played a most important role in the conception, development, organization and control of the Congress. Without his active interest and support the launching of the Congress would have been most difficult.

b. The Congress was a highly successful operation. In its stand against intellectual neutrality in the struggle against Communism, its "Letter to the East," its final "Manifesto," and its deliberations and intellectual discussions, the Congress has proven its propaganda value which will be extended and expanded to a greater degree in the future.

LGlaser
LOUIS GLASER

EE 3/LG/fdr

cc: CPC registry - 3 and 4 of 6
EE - 2 of 6
EE 3 - 5 and 6 of 6

Attachments a and b
See description above

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C O P Y

7 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MESSRS. FRANK
LINDSAY
OFFIE

SUBJECT: Project PDQUICK

1. With reference to my conversation with Mr. Baker concerning the project outline covering the subject project, I have approved this project subject to the following condition. It makes no sense to me that we should state in paragraph 6 under the heading of security that all practicable measures will be taken to disguise the official U. S. interest, financial and otherwise; and at the same time to provide that one of the two active sponsors will be Mr. Melvin J. Lasky, editor of the overt HICOG monthly magazine "Der Monat." I understand that Mr. Lasky is needed as one of the principal organizers and operatives but I think it quite unnecessary for his name to be flourished about as a sponsor. After all, he is officially employed by HICOG--he is, therefore, an acknowledged member of the U. S. apparatus in Germany. Why then should his name be used? Reuter is an excellent sponsor and surely it will be possible to find one or more others--non-American or at least non-official American--to serve as sponsors.

2. Generally in the same connection I assume that our consultant, Mr. Burnham, will operate in the wings and that his name will not be too prominently displayed. As the result of his recent book and the furor of communist commentary, he is a "sitting duck" for hostile propaganda in my opinion. I am entirely in favor of his participating extensively in the arrangements, but the more his participation can be in the form of "off-stage whispers" the better.

/s/ F. G. W./w

FGW:lgw/fdr

Attachment: Subj. Proj. (38294)
(Not attached to this copy)
Distribution:
1 of 2 - CEE
2 of 2 - CEE-3

CLASSIFICATION ... Secret
BY ... Eric Jones
... FE/C aud 10
... 15 May 58

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: EE 3

NO.

DATE 4 August 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. EE 3 (Schreyer)					Attachment B contains the following:
2. EE					WASH 3291 (OUT 52862) FRAN 139 (IN 22622)
3. Return to EE 3					WASH 2884 (OUT 53482) 945-CWUFG
4.					FRAN 232 (IN 25106) FRAN 451 (IN 30207)
5.					BRLN 3033 (IN 31100)
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B

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1948

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28 July
Ref. PDQUICK

T. S.

The decision on this is not up to me. I will appreciate opportunity to discuss it with you.

My point of view is that ALL of this current PDQUICK stuff is premature and a case of a lot of hungry actors smelling easy money and wanting to get into the act and get the show on the road.

We have no budget for PDQUICK for this period - and literally are living on borrowed funds. We can't make up a budget because we have no accounting from the field, do not know where we stand.

Here are some other questions in my mind:

What were the publicity accomplishments of the relatively expensive NY office?

What happened to the Berlin news coverage by US correspondents?

What happened to the bright and sanguinary forecasts of tremendous amounts of publicity, special magazine articles, radio broadcasts, etc. which were to emanate from the attendance at the Congress of Messrs. Montgomery and Conant - a little matter which cost the US about two thousand pieces of lettuce ? (It seems clear that their attendance was absolutely worthless otherwise.)

What happened to their efforts to obtain delegates from the Middle East?

Why did Lasky proceed with a dozen last minute invitations to innocuous persons (these were supposed to be 'a few' and to extremely important people) including several wives.

A cablegram was sent urging that a press conference be arranged for Franz Mehring? Did it take place?

There were no photographs of the book displays. This book display was an expensive item. Did it take place?

Now with all these questions in my mind, adding up to a realization that if the Congress was a success, it was only a success as far as it went, and it has a long way to go to completely justify itself - the next steps NOT being spending a lot of dough for the support of deserving intellectuals who have no other source of income, but in getting a distribution of a million pieces of literature, and other publicity, in Satellite areas - I would hesitate (which is a euphemism for blankly object) to blandly appropriating an extra ten thousand bucks to support an innocuous group of Russian exiles who want to air their grievances, NOT under our control.

IG

Fule
PDQUICK

20 July 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: CSX 3

SUBJECT: 229-CT?U, Special Report on PDQUICK

Glaser and Kroller have discussed the attached paper and are agreed as follows:

a. We think that in the preparation of the paper, Josselson was acting as a reporter rather than fundamentally expressing his own ideas.

b. In our opinion, the whole scheme, as described in the special report, is much too grandiose, ambitious and cumbersome.

c. We agree that the Congress should continue in existence but we do not think that it has to have any legal establishment.

d. We see the functioning of a continuing organization as providing the basis for future Congress meetings, providing members with a focus of interest, providing a logical source of information, propaganda, publications, and publicity, and as a cover for certain PW operations.

e. We think the organization of the Congress could follow the outline in paragraph 4 of the Reference down to, and including, the General Secretary, with the addition of an Executive Assistant, a stenographer, and a typist, and elimination of the rest of the suggested personnel.

f. We think it advisable that the Congress have one office, possibly, though not necessarily, in Paris, and that its other "offices" (which in actuality need be little more than letter drops) would require no personnel and no administrative machinery except arrangements for the forwarding of mail. Any other sporadic use to be made of such "offices," such as localized

press releases, for instance, could be accomplished through a resident member of either the Executive Committee or the International Committee.

g. We think that it need not cost more than $25,000 for the next year to maintain the Congress organization, pay for administration, traveling expenses, including the salaries of personnel, which would assume a General Secretary who would be an OPC agent. (This latter concept may not be absolutely necessary; but if not, then provision should be made for OPC contact some other way.) In addition to the $25,000, specified above, there should be an allotment of $50,000 for the holding of the next Congress. Another $25,000 should be added for special purposes largely connected with publicity. The major part of the expenditures for the next year for collection, printing, and dissemination of Congress material and which could conceivably amount to as much as $250,000 as a top figure, would be provided, it is hoped, by ECA funds.

h. The activities mentioned in Part II of subject report could very well be handled under the setup outlined above with certain exceptions which seem to be too broad in scope to be justified at all.

GERALD DROLLER

LOUIS GLASER

Encl.
Special Report

EE-3/LG/fdr
cc: Glaser
Droller
Chrono

14-00000

Attachment to 229-C

SPECIAL REPORT: Situation and Perspectives.

I ORGANIZATION

1. At the conclusion of the Berlin sessions of the CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM, the basis for continuing work was created by the appointment of several committees. Some confusion and uncertainty reigned at this period; these need to be clarified. The following is suggested:

a. Honorary Chairman: Letters will go out this week to the Five Philosophers -- Croce, Dewey, Maritain, Jaspers, and Russell -- requesting them to honor the CONGRESS by continuing to serve with the permanent commission.

b. Sponsors: A great many distinguished men in the field of art and science had given their support to the Berlin Congress, although they were unable to come. Their names would be most useful in the Congress' continuing activities. If, as seems only appropriate, the final International Committee of 25 should consist only of "active members", then some of the nominations originally included should be transferred by the working Executive Committee to this special list of Sponsors. These (before the Congress) included -- and permission here will also be requested -- Andre Gide, Ralph Bunche (important, for no Negro was nominated in Berlin), Carl Zuckmayer, Salvador de Madariaga......among many others.

c. International Committee of 25: At the Berlin sessions the following were nominated -- (1) Ignazio Silone; (2) David Rousset; (3) Arthur Koestler; (4) Carlo Schmid; (5) Irving Brown; (6) Julian Amery; (7) Haakon Lie; (8) James Burnham; (9) Sidney Hook; (10) Nicolas Nabokov; (11) Eugen Kogon; (12) Theodor Plivier; (13) Herbert Read; (14) Denis de Rougemont; (15) Lionello Venturi; (16) Boris Nicolaevsky; (17) Karol Kuzka; (18) Josef Czapski; (19) Margarete Buber-Neumann; (20) Andre Philip..... These were all present and are confirmed. The following were nominated and still have to be informed, and confirmed; (21) Richard Crossman; (22) Francois Mauriac; (23) Pablo Casals (for the "Sponsors"?); (24) Thornton Wilder; (25) Oskar Pollak; and (26) Salvador de Madariaga ("Sponsor"?).

d. Executive Committee of 5: This consists of the first five named above -- Silone, Rousset, Koestler, Brown, and Schmid (who has definitely accepted, and thus taken the place of Kogon).

2. It was decided to hold the first meeting of the CONGRESS Executive Committee during the first week in September in Paris. It will probably be desirable to hold several informal meetings before then in order to work out the outline and details of a functioning CONGRESS plan.

3. Urgent problem facing the CONGRESS by September is the working out of a legal or constitutional basis of the permanent CONGRESS organization. Who are "members"? How is the International Committee to be maintained; how are additions, substractions, changes in this and the Executive Committee to be made? Who invites to the next Congress, and who "votes"? A number of proposals should be considered before a final Memorandum is presented. This should be done in conjunction with the man who will probably be General-Secretary and/or Executive Director of the CONGRESS.

4. It is suggested that the original title be kept and made permanent -- namely, CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM/KONGRESS FUER KULTURELLE FREIHEIT/ CONGRES POUR LA LIBERTE DE LA CULTURE. The use of the word "CONGRESS" in such connection has its parallel both with the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organizations) in the USA, and with the Congress Party in India.

5. A provisional plan for the organization of the CONGRESS should be worked out, less in the expectation that it will be immediately set up than in the hope that within the next six months it can be more and more realized. The following sketch is submitted:

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

Honorary Chairman — Sponsors

International Committee of 25

Executive Committee of 5

General Secretary

Executive Director | Editorial Director | Research Director | Paris Bureau Director | Berlin Bureau Director

Exec. Asst. | Edit. Asst. | Research Asst.

Stenographer | Translator

Typist

In the light of this table of organization, several provisional appointments could be made in order to get CONGRESS activities working immediately, e.g. appointment of Frau Buber-Neumann as executive of the Berlin bureau; appointment of François Bondy as Editorial Director; appointment of somebody like Richard Loewenthal as Research Director. The urgencies will become clearer below.

II ACTIVITIES

1. Publications Project: the immediate editing of a volume on the founding Berlin CONGRESS. Most of the material is already available in three languages: French, English, and German. This will be completed in the next month by the transitional CONGRESS Bureau in Berlin. Norbert Muhlen is assisting in putting out the special double number of "Der Monat" on the Congress, which may be a kind of "experimental model". Francois Bondy is returning to work out a table of contents and an editorial approach to the Congress volume.

2. Pamphlet Project: the immediate preparation and publication in many languages of a simple straight forward brochure (12-24) pages on "What is the Congress for Cultural Freedom?" It should be illustrated; should tell the story of the Berlin sessions; should print the Manifesto of Intellectual Liberty (and possibly a revised improved Message to the East); should outline a plan of Congress work to be followed and point to the future. This is essential for CONGRESS sympathizers, for the press, for the public in general. The Editorial Director (Bondy) can be assigned to prepare a draft for revision and approval in September.

3. Investigation Project: the first of a series of White Book reports on the situation of cultural freedom. Silone has recommended, and the CONGRESS has announced, a documented account of the Writer, Artist, and Scientist in the countries behind the Iron Curtain (an account which the UNESCO, because of its governmental connections, cannot do). An immediate beginning should be made with the appointment of a Research Chief for this project, responsible for working out an editorial plan, contacting sources for information; this project chief should have the sociological and journalistic qualifications of men like Loewenthal and Muhlen (and Peter de Mendelssohn).

4. Protest Project: the CONGRESS should, with the specific signatures of its leading supporters, keep in the forefront of public attention by taking up via the press, open meetings, debates, etc., cases of flagrant violations of the principles of the CONGRESS as stated in the Manifesto and other documents. The CONGRESS cannot, to be sure, become an international civil-liberties union, but it can speak out on special issues (purge of a University, liquidation of a scientist, arrest of a writer, etc.).

5. Break-away Project: the CONGRESS should by means both of information and agitation keep alive the difference between those who are choosing freedom and those who are willingly or unknowingly supporting totalitarianism and its deceptions. The dramatic defection of Prof. Alfred Weber during the Congress Berlin session from the Soviet-controlled Academy of Science is an example of what can be done; this specific German movement is gathering strength; there have been another half-dozen resignations, and the news is spreading in Eastern Germany. This has also involved the world-famous

Charite hospital in Eastern Berlin, almost 3/4 of the distinguished medical specialists are ready to break away, and we are now hoping to reach some constructive arrangement by which they can maintain themselves in West-Berlin. This type of activity — ranging from welcoming prominent individuals from the East, to sheltering groups and institutions, and beginning with initial private contact — can transform the CONGRESS from a group of spokesmen for the libertarian ideal into "activists for freedom".

6. Radio-Broadcasting Project: inaugurating a special series of radio programs to be prepared by the CONGRESS. Liaison should be established with RIAS, the Free Europe network, the French, Austrian, German and British stations, including the Voice of America. Plans have been started for the first series — namely, "Dialogues Across the Curtain"; a dozen 'open-letters' — Koestler to Seghers and Brecht, other to Becher, Eisler, Lukacs, Lysenko, Tarle, Ehrenburg, et. al. -- personalized messages of five-minutes (less in hateful opposition, more in open-hearted pity). This would be a practical follow-up to the CONGRESS' "Message to the East". These could be published in various newspapers; later in small book-form.

7. Annual Prize-Award Project: the CONGRESS should award each year a number of CONGRESS prizes to various personalities for distinctive services and contributions to the cause of Cultural Freedom. This could be given on the basis of a new book, a career, or some special activities. Two types can be distinguished: the Nobel-Prize model, and the University Stipend. The latter would enable the recipient (an American, a Frenchman) to spend four weeks in Berlin, giving a series of 5 CONGRESS lectures at the Free University, later to be printed as a special CONGRESS volume. (This is equally true of an English recipient at Heidelberg, a German at the New School in N.Y.C., a Frenchman at the London School of Economics, etc.)

8. Publishing-House Project: this could be a modestly-conceived annex to the CONGRESS Berlin-Bureau, which would actually bring out the CONGRESS volumes (indicated above). It would also publish the pamphlets and brochures mentioned. It would consider the popular cultural-political library (the Birkenfeld proposal). It could be the house to which "Der Monat" would go, if and when this monthly becomes completely independent. It would gradually build up its own list of authors from among prominent CONGRESS writers (Koestler, et. al.) The Publishing-House could be started from the existing transitional CONGRESS bureau now functioning in Berlin; the Bureau-Director, or the Executive Assistant, could be charged with the responsibilities of a normal international Publisher in Germany (incorporation as a G.m.b.H., and the like).

9. News-Letter Project: immediate plans for a fortnightly communication to all CONGRESS sympathizers, the press, etc. should be started, completed. A 2-4 page mimeographed information-bulletin will keep alive CONGRESS interest.

III SOME LARGE-SCALE LONG-RANGE PROPOSALS

1. Film Proposal: a series of CONGRESS documentary films, possibly produced in connection with other organizations. Suggestion for a first film: a full-length feature on World-Communism, a script for which (The Hammer & The Sickle") has been outlined by M.J. Lasky and Stuart Schulberg (one of the leading U.S. documentary-makers, who would most probably be available in Europe for it). These could have normal commerical distribution, special schools, and universities distribution.

2. Lecture-Tour Proposal: building up a circuit throughout western-Europe, the United States, and elsewhere, for political and cultural CONGRESS speakers.

3. Research-Institute Proposal: this could be a normal and logical outgrowth of the first CONGRESS research activities. It would mean the establishment of a "Chatham House" on an international basis for serious studies of the cultural-political problems of our day. Scholars and journalists, on the basis of specific assignments and awards, could be associated with CONGRESS activities. This would be linked with the Paris and Berlin bureaus of the CONGRESS, with such international reviews as are affiliated with the CONGRESS (Der Monat", etc.), and with the CONGRESS Publishing House.

4. University Proposal: a centre for Eastern exile professor and students, either in the form of an independent academic institution (the Czapski resolution) -- or perhaps in the more practical form of scholarships for the exiled students, and university chairs for the scholars — both in existing European and American academic institutions (Berlin Free University, Sorbonne, Zurich, Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, etc.).

5. School-for-Freedom Proposal: the organization, at first on a very modest summer-school-type basis, of a "George Orwell School for Freedom" (Hochschule fuer Freiheit), in which special courses and seminars in the political and cultural problems of our day could be given. Students could be invited (and thus give the youth some measure of intellectual training): leading publicists and officials could participate. This could be associated with the Research Institute (whose researchers become teachers and participants in the School Sessions), and with the University Project. "Congress cadres" could be developed here.

6. Proposal for Other National Bureaus: expanding into other European capital cities -- Stockholm for Scandinavia, Vienna for the Balkans, Rome for the Mediterranean, New York and Havana for North and South America. It will, in any case, probably become imperative to establish a sub-Bureau in New York City for the next period, so that American public opinion is not neglected.

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17 July 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR MESSRS. LINDSAY
BAKER

SUBJECT: Berlin Congress of intellectuals (Congress for Cultural Freedom).

1. Thank you for obtaining the attached copy of General Magruder's estimate of the above mentioned operation which I note was given in a memorandum of transmittal to Secretary Johnson. I have furnished a copy of this estimate to Mr. Joyce who I understand will show it to certain significant people in the State Department.

2. I think that all persons concerned with this operation are entitled to the heartiest congratulations and if you have not already done so, I should appreciate your passing on the substance of General Magruder's appraisal to the field. I am sending a copy of this memorandum to Mr. Thompson, who I assume will pass on the word to the members of his staff who played a role in this operation.

FGW
F.G.W.

FGW:lgw
Att:
TS 42664

Distribution:
#1 - EE & EE-3
#2 - SP
#3 & 4 - III/RE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
CLASSIFICATION
~~TOP SECRET~~
Secret
Eric Jones
EE/G and IO
12 May 58

TOP SECRET ~~42666~~ 1 OF 4

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY

SUBJECT: Congress for Cultural Freedom - an OPC organized accomplishment.

This is an Operational Report of an actual accomplishment. It is a subtle covert operation carried out on the highest intellectual level. It is unconventional warfare at its best in which the objectives are men's minds. It is the opening operation of a continuing campaign.

The origin and purposes are stated in Section I. The details in organizing a delicate operation of this nature are only hinted in this report, but enough is expressed to arouse admiration for the principal operatives.

The report is already too condensed for briefing. I urgently recommend that you scan the whole of it.

John Magruder

C
O
P
Y

Secret
Fr Jones + 10A
EE/6
15 May 5?

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COPY (handwritten: sanitized)

12 July 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Messrs. Bumstead, Stribling, and Ragsdale

FROM : Charles Olmstead

SUBJECT : Confidential Report Received By Schiller on Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom

1. When Mr. Stribling's shop requested me, at the behest of a cable request of Mr. Hambley, to attempt to appease Schiller in connection with his indignation for the manner in which Max Yergin, the American Negro, had been handled in Berlin, Schiller reacted in the manner described in my earlier memorandum on this subject, which was on the whole satisfactory. He has since received a complete report from a reliable and competent observer at the Berlin Congress which I am quoting below:

"On the whole, the Congress has achieved some useful results. In my opinion, the best thing about the Congress was that it was held in Berlin. A Congress in Paris, in Switzerland or in any other place would have had neither the same political significance nor would it have received the same publicity. For the Berliners, the fact that Berlin was chosen as the meeting place was renewed proof of Western solidarity with their resistance against the Russians. They need such proof again and again, especially in view of the fact that they have a definite and justified impression that the Bonn Government is not inclined to manifest any particular fervor as far as help for the Berlin population is concerned.

"The Congress, moreover, has been a success inasmuch as it showed the determination of an important group of intellectuals, scholars, and artists to leave no longer unchallenged Communist attempts to dominate the scene through their various "cultural" front organisations. The permanent machinery established by the Congress for the purpose of continuing its work may be of great importance provided that certain conditions are observed in its activities.

"The following critical remarks regarding certain phases and features of the work of the Congress should not be construed as an attempt to deny the fact that the Congress has achieved a useful purpose. Nor is this criticism made from a perfectionist point of view. However, while it is admitted that in a gathering of artists, scholars, and writers, many of whom tend to display prima-donna attitudes and a spirit of coterie, a certain amount of friction is inevitable, it cannot be said that everything was done to reduce such frictions to a minimum. As a result, many delegates whom I had an opportunity to ask for their impressions of the Congress, left Berlin with mixed feelings, some of them not without a certain amount of disappointment.

(handwritten: attachment to ... 2 ...)

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(handwritten: ...VICK file)

"While the organisation of the Congress was excellent as far as the technical side was concerned, (hotels, public meetings, receptions, press interviews, etc.), the debates of the Congress took place under conditions which showed a considerable lack of imagination and ignorance of parliamentary procedure on the part of those responsible for the way in which the business of the Congress was transacted. Skeggs, Muhlen, and Bondy are certainly nice fellows with the best intentions. However, they seem to have had no previous experience at all on how to run a conference.

"All delegates had been asked to prepare papers on various subjects. It was obviously impossible to have all those papers read in the public meetings of the Congress (they were mimeographed and will be distributed). It was necessary to make a selection of topics and speakers. The best method would have been to appoint a steering committee which would have made this necessary selection with the maximum of objectivity. Unfortunately, this was not done. Instead, the question of who was to speak and how long was decided by Skeggs and his associates who did it in a rather arbitrary and haphazard manner. To explain what I mean let me cite a few examples: First, the case of our friend, Max Yergin. Together with Max we worked rather hard on his paper (one night we had no more than two hours sleep). The final product received rather favorable comments from Hambley and Arthur Schlesinger. I tried to make Skeggs understand the importance of having Communist propaganda regarding the Negro problem answered and refuted by a competent person who is a Negro himself. Skeggs first promised me that Yergin would have fifteen minutes speaking time. When we arrived at the meeting where Max was scheduled to speak, he was told that he would not get more than ten minutes. We went to work again, and deleted some passages so as to have a ten-minute text. However, when Max was about to take the floor, he was informed by Bondy that he should not speak longer than five minutes. As a result, Max got confused and delivered a completely inadequate version of what he originally wanted to say. Similarly, Sascha Schwarz was prevented from making a report on the situation of the working class in Russia. Nor did the delegate from Spain and the one and only representative of Latin-America to the Congress have a chance to speak.

"On the other hand, Koestler spoke four or five times and there was generally a marked tendency to build him up as a kind of praeceptor mundi. He seems to have enjoyed himself in the role of a task-master censoring and lecturing the delegates. As far as I gathered from a conversation with Skeggs, Koestler was given this prominent place because, due to the fact that as a well-known writer, his pronouncements were supposed to attract public attention in a greater measure than speeches by other delegates. The same consideration was evidently applied in the case of Silone. However, Silone seemed to be anxious to be as non-committal as possible, quite in line with his ambiguous political attitude. While Skeggs' preoccupation with problems of publicity is understandable, I do not think that the method of treating authors according to the sales of their books is apt to promote a lasting cooperation among writers, scholars, etc. For once, scholars will never be able to sell as many copies of their books as Koestler.

"At a certain moment, the debates took a very unfortunate turn. On one of the frequent occasions, when Koestler was given the floor, he read a paper wherein he attacked Socialism in general and the British Labor Government in particular. Considering 1) that about 70% of the delegates were people who professed socialist opinions; 2) that the purpose of the Congress required that a unity of all democratic intellectuals, both socialists and non-socialists in the struggle against totalitarianism be emphasized and 3) that the chairman of the Congress was Ernst Reuter, head of the social-democratic city government of Berlin -- Koestler's attack was absolutely out of place and should not have been made regardless of whether he was right or not. As a matter of fact, the paper in question proved that Koestler is mistaken in assuming that a brilliant journalist and a successful novelist is eo ipso qualified to play the role of a philosopher, historian and sociologist. In addition, mistaken statements by British Labor regarding the problem of European unity do not justify in my opinion the kind of vitriolic all-out attack against the British Labor Government which was made by Koestler who seems to have forgotten, that, regardless what one may think of some of its policies, British Labor is today one of the principal pillars of the world democratic front.

"Evidently Koestler's attack provoked immediate reaction on the part of the Socialist Congress delegates, beginning with Reuter who was in the chair. In my opinion, this entire discussion was completely unnecessary. The British conservative M. P., Amery, showed much better judgment than Koestler by studiedly avoiding in his pronouncements, any criticism of the Labor Government. If an attitude similar to that of Koestler would have been adopted in the trade union field, the I.C.F.T.U. could not have been created. As in the labor movement, the organization of intellectuals for the defense of democracy cannot be successful unless it is understood that democratic socialism is a powerful influence among the best intellectuals of Europe and Asia and that, therefore, everything should be done to secure cooperation of all democratic forces in spite of all ideological differences. I was rather astonished to find that Irving seemed to like Koestler's discourse on socialism. I spoke with quite a number of delegates and found that they didn't like it at all.

"Instead of appointing on the first and second days of the Congress a resolution Committee which would have been able to work seriously on any draft resolutions, proposals and suggestions made by the delegates, a draft manifesto and draft resolution were submitted to a plenary meeting which had to decide on them within a few hours. That meeting appointed some committees who had exactly one hour's time to amend the resolutions. Of course, no serious work of re-writing and completing the resolutions could be done under such circumstances. You will notice that the manifesto treats the question of cultural freedom principally from the point of view of the journalist and less from that of the scholar and the artists. At least this is my opinion. A draft appeal to the intellectuals behind the Iron Curtain, which was submitted by Skeggs, evoked an immediate sharp criticism on the part of

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the Polish and Russian delegates. The committee on which they were represented, amended it. However, later on not the amended text which was adopted by the Congress but the original draft was released to the press, thus creating additional resentment.

"Yergin was not in a happy mood when he left. A public meeting had been arranged for him and Schyler where they read their papers in full. However, they did not like the way they were treated insofar as speaking time at the Congress meetings was concerned and Max made remarks to the effect that now the Communists will say they had been jim-crowed since they had to present their case in a special meeting. They also resented the fact that the permanent committee elected by the Congress does not contain any representative of the colored race. It would, of course, have been difficult to appoint one of them to the committee since the representation of the United States was limited on purpose so as not to create the impression of American domination. However, the right of cooptation granted by the Congress to the permanent committee should be used to introduce as soon as possible in the committee intellectuals from India, Japan and other non-white areas.

"Some of the papers read at the Congress were excellent, for instance those of Prof. Muller (Schiller's man) and Arthur Schlesinger to name only a few. As far as the future work of the movement initiated by the Congress is concerned, certain things should be taken into account to make possible the full use of existing possibilities which are quite favorable. 1) Representatives of Asia and possibly Africa should be drawn into the work of the committee. 2) All due respect for literary fame, the organs of the new movement should not become a platform for the peculiar ambitions of certain individuals whatever their gifts and talents. 3) While among the intellectuals it will probably be impossible to avoid discussion of so-called ideological problems, the purpose of such discussions should not be the struggle of rival ideologies, but the finding out of the points and areas where advocates of different ideologies may meet for cooperation in the defense of democracy against totalitarianism. 4) Establishment of contacts with other movements engaged in the struggle against totalitarianism, especially in the labor movement. 5) Better organization of the work of future congresses and conferences.

"The Congress undoubtedly reflected the progress made during the last year as far as the attitude of European intellectuals is concerned. There is no trace of neutralistic attitudes in the resolutions of the Congress. The same cannot be said of all the speeches. However, no openly neutralistic speech was made at the Congress. The only paper advocating a neutralist attitude was withdrawn by its author, the Austrian physicist, Thirring, when he heard of the Russian attack on Southern Korea. I wouldn't say that people like Rousset and especially Silone are quite clear about the present world situation, particularly as far as military defense against Russia is concerned, however, they wisely refrained from any openly neutralistic statements.

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"On the whole, it can be said of the Congress that all is well that ends well. The criticism made above is not intended to contradict this general favorable impression."

2. I find on reading and rereading this criticism, that it is, in general, sound and sensible. I should like to request that particular attention be paid to the latter part of the memorandum in which five recommendations are made with regard to the future work of the movement initiated by the Berlin Congress. I should also like to draw particular attention to the reaction to the behavior of David Rousset and Ignazio Silone. This is one further indication for justification that Rousset must be constantly and thoroughly watched with a critical eye.

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: SP/Kelley 12 July 50

NO.

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. SP/NV		14 July	17 July	TBY	
2.					
3. Thompson		7/17	7/20	SPK/LT	
4.					
5.					
6. Glaser				[illegible]	
7.					
8.					
9. SP/NV					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

SECRET

10 July 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Messrs. Thompson and Glaser

FROM: Charles Olmstead O.

SUBJECT: Berlin Intellectual Congress

1. I wish to refer to Mr. Glaser's informal memorandum with regard to the mishandling of the American Negro, Max Yergin, at the Berlin Intellectual Congress.

2. When I informed Schiller that I wished to discuss this matter with him he proceeded to read to me a letter which he had just received from Berlin giving a rather full report on the Berlin Congress and which contained a great deal of information. Among the items reported on therein was the incident regarding Max Yergin. I explained to Schiller that it was a most difficult task to control the group of assorted Europeans who attended the Berlin Congress and sufficient time was not given, therefore, to United States delegates, but that Yergin's excellent speech, which had been cut off the radio at the microphone, was being widely used in press, radio, book and pamphlet form.

3. Schiller accepted this explanation, but in closing our discussion of this subject, wise-cracked that our boys in Berlin did not include Yergin on any social doings and closed his remarks with the statement that "even intellectuals like Burnham don't like to sit down and eat with Negroes." I chided him briefly and there the matter was closed.

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SECRET [redacted]

Informal memo.

Can you communicate this information to C.O. - as soon as practicable? (I will do so, if you prefer.)

A cable from Jim Burnham, states that Max Yergin was not satisfied with the way he was handled at the Cultural Congress in Berlin.

His complaints:

His speech - described as "excellent" - was cut off at the microphone.

He did not, apparently, receive the kind of attention he thought was due him.

He is expected to make an adverse report to Schiller.

Burnham would like Offie to appease Schiller by assuring him that the staff of the Congress had their hands full trying to control the bunch of assorted Europeans there, and could not give sufficient time and attention to US delegates. And that they intend to use Yergin's excellent material in press, radio, book and pamphlet form, giving it wide distribution. In comparison to this, Burnham considers the actual promulgation at the sessions of the Congress a minor matter.

[redacted]

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Congress for Cultural Freedom

Congrès pour la liberté de la culture ★ *Kongress für Kulturelle Freiheit*

Berlin, Germany—June 26-30, 1950

International Committee:
BENEDETTO CROCE
JOHN DEWEY
KARL JASPERS
JACQUES MARITAIN
BERTRAND RUSSELL

June 29, 1950

GENERAL SECRETARY:
Melvin J. Lasky
Hotel am Steinplatz,
Berlin-Charlottenberg,
Germany

PUBLIC RELATIONS:
Arnold Beichman
20 West 40th St., New York City
CHickering 4-3060
LOngacre 5-3344

Colonel Louis Glaser
3051 Idaho Avenue NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Glaser:

Thanks for the testimonial. I am enclosing a copy of our financial statement to date. You will note that our expenses, exclusive of the books, were $917.05. However, this does not include our June telephone bill for phone calls and cables. I am skipping town tomorrow before the laurel wreath turns into a brickbat.

The files and left-over stationery are being stored at Freedom House pending our decision on future activities. Mr. Beichman has the check book and will pay the telephone bill and refund the balance when Jim returns.

My summer address will be 115 East Chester Street, Long Beach, L.I. Jim may want to contact me. I hope somebody will send me copies of the resolutions passed at the Congress. Will you please remind Jim for me?

Sincerely,

Pearl Kluger
Pearl Kluger

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

Statement

As of June 30, 1950

Income					
Melvin J. Lasky				$200.00	
James Burnham	5/25	$500.00			
	6/ 8	500.00			
	6/12	218.36			
		4.82			
	6/20	300.00		1,523.18	
Total Income					$1,723.18
Expenses					
Clipping Service				30.60	
Printing - stationery				42.33	
Rent - Freedom House				150.00	
Salary				400.00	
Books - University Pl. Bookshop		263.53			
(Parcel Post) " " "		128.00	391.53		
- Pearl Kluger		4.82			
(Parcel Post "		14.70	19.52	411.05	
Multigraphing and Mimeographing				40.80	
Telephone - June 1 bill				20.75	
Telegrams and Cables (paid in Cash)					
To Newspapers for press conference			38.00		
To Lasky			2.87	40.87	
Military Permits (Muller, Stone, Schlesinger)				11.00	
Postage (incl. mailing photographs, clippings, etc. to Berlin)				51.35	
Western Union - Messenger Service				4.35	
Arnold Beichman - Expenses				100.00	
Miscellaneous - Phone calls, taxis, fare, office supplies, etc.				25.00	
*Total Expenses as of June 30, 1950					1,328.10
Balance in Bank					$ 395.08

*This does not include the June telephone bill

14-00000

TO: MR. GLASER

28 June 1950

FROM: MR. MILLARD

"I talked with Allen ~~Douglas~~ Dulles who stated that he knew nothing of this man's executive ability, that he does not know of any position he has held where that might have been exerted and added that he might be wrong on this factor. Stated further that he knew him as a very brilliant writer. With reference to his political idealism, ~~Douglas~~ Dulles stated that he believed he was a Socialist and a little to the left; however, this factor was temperate with the statement that with regard to Fascist or Communist, he was definitely anti-Nazi and he believed tha he was anti-Communist. He continued by saying that he was a man of high character and that he personally liked him but that he would not consider him for an executive secretary's position. With further reference to the last point, he mentioned that he was basing this on the fact that he did not know of any executive position that the individual had held."

File copy

(WASH 8258 - Out 59168)

PDQUICK

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Taken verbatim

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: EE III

NO.

DATE 28 June 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Mr Ellis ~~2706~~	[illegible]			WR	The cable substance attached was sub-
2.					mitted 27 June by your office
3.					Mr. Schreyer, combining your cable with one
4.					prepared by EE III [illegible] the attached
5.					cable to persuade
6.					and [illegible] subject to a joint agreement.
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

SECRET

1. JONATHAN S. GEARING HAS BEEN INSTRUCTED COORDINATE DETAILS OF PDQUICK. NO FURTHER ACTION NECESSARY YOUR STATION.

14-00000

Congress for Cultural Freedom

Congrès pour la liberté de la culture ★ *Kongress für Kulturelle Freiheit*

Berlin, Germany—June 26-30, 1950

June 27, 1950

GENERAL SECRETARY:
Melvin J. Lasky
Hotel am Steinplatz,
Berlin-Charlottenberg,
Germany

PUBLIC RELATIONS:
Arnold Beichman
20 West 40th St., New York City
CHickering 4-3060
LOngacre 5-3344

Colonel Louis Glaser
3051 Idaho Avenue NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Glaser:

Walter Mehring finally got off last night. There was no room on Saturday's plane for which he stood by, but he was scheduled to take a Sunday morning plane. Due to some mechanical difficulty, that plane did not leave until last night. The American Express Co. was unofficially informed that as a result of President Truman's intervention all other planes were chartered for the stranded students. I even spoke to Mr. Buttles about getting Mr. Mehring on one of the chartered planes if the scheduled flight did not get off last night. If Mehring, too, did not turn up our counter-Grosz campaign would have looked bad. I therefore felt that he mustleave even if it meant being present at only part of the Congress.

I received a letter from George Grosz which I requested when I spoke to Mrs. Grosz:

"Here is my statement:
I regret not to be able to attend the Congress for Cultural Freedom. My reasons are entirely personal. I am delighted with your efforts to mobilize Art and scientists of the world for Freedom and Peace."

I cabled the text of the statement, signed with his name, to Berlin; and airmailed the letter and envelope to them.

Unfortunately Middleton of the Times is on vacation from Berlin. We seem to be getting better coverage in the Herald-Tribune, which has a by-line correspondent on the job.

Adolph Berle, as Chairman of the Liberal Party, cabled greetings to the Congress.

If anything goes wrong with the fruit crop in Berlin or anyplace in Europe for that matter, they'll probably blame it on Muller's fruit flies.

Sincerely

Pearl Kluger

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CONFIDENTIAL

HICOG,

FRANKFORT.

PEPCO.

Since material upcoming from Berlin Cultural Congress likely have great propaganda value in combatting SOV peace campaign and other SOV efforts in psychological field, DEPT desires arrangements be made for complete photo and literary coverage with view obtaining manuscript and pictorial files basic to PUB in major languages not only in GER but other countries.

Suggest Dalcher now on TDY from DEPT with ISD, OPA, visit Berlin during Congress to study Congress output for PUB possibilities in US. To coordinate with ECA on PUB in other EUR countries, Lasky, Josselson or other qualified officer SHLD confer with Waldemar Nielsen Hotel Talleyrand, Paris after WED June 21.

CODE ROOM: Repeat HICOG, BERLIN, PEPCO, as________.

C:R:GAI:EPWlessmarteo 6/19/50 P - MacKnight

CONFIDENTIAL

June 21, 1950

Dear Mr. Glaser:

I am enclosing herewith two letters received from American Express and copy of answer as per our telephone conversations.

Rose Mary Woods

FOREIGN SERVICE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
1906 FLORIDA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 14, 1950

American Express Company
65 Broadway
New York, New York

ATTENTION: Mr. G. J. Gilmore

Dear Mr. Gilmore:

Thank you for your letter of June 13, 1950. This will authorize you to arrange for the side trip to Stockholm as requested by Mr. Burnham and charge same to our account.

Sincerely yours,

Philip H. Watts
Vice President

rw

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT
R. E. WHITE
VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER
W. F. FOX
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT AND
PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER
GERARD J. GILMORE
ASSISTANT PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER

AMERICAN EXPRESS

TRAVELERS CHEQUES
MONEY ORDERS FOREIGN REMITTANCES
TRAVEL AND FOREIGN SHIPPING

65 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 6, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: TOURAMEX

June 13, 1950

Mr. Philip H. Watts, Vice President
Foreign Service Educational Foundation
1906 ~~Florida Avenue~~, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Watts:

Re: Congress for Cultural Freedom

In connection with the travel to the Congress for Cultural Freedom which you are sponsoring for Mr. and Mrs. James Burnham, the servicing office has advised us that Mr. Burnham has requested a side trip to Stockholm.

Will you kindly advise us whether this additional transportation is for the account of the Foreign Service Educational Foundation or for the account of the passengers.

Sincerely yours,

G. J. Gilmore
Ass't. Passenger Traffic Manager

GJG:BP:ret

14-00000

FOREIGN SERVICE EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION

1906 FLORIDA AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

SCHOOL OF ADVANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
THE MIDDLE EAST INSTITUTE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

June 21, 1950

Mr. G. J. Gilmore
Assistant Passenger
Traffic Manager
American Express Company
65 Broadway
New York 6, New York

Dear Mr. Gilmore:

Re: CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
Mr. Elliot Cohen, Editor
Commentary Magazine

Your letter of June 16th with regard to the above matter was on my desk upon my return to the city this morning.

Mr. Cohen is entitled to transportation and if you have not supplied him with any other transportation then we have no objection to your reimbursing Mrs. Cohen for Mr. Cohen's ticket on the S. S. Queen Elizabeth.

Sincerely yours,

Philip H. Watts
Vice President

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY

TRAVEL DEPARTMENT
R. E. WHITE
VICE PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER
W. F. FOX
ASSISTANT VICE PRESIDENT AND PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER
GERARD J. GILMORE
ASSISTANT PASSENGER TRAFFIC MANAGER

AMERICAN EXPRESS
TRAVELERS CHEQUES
MONEY ORDERS · FOREIGN REMITTANCES
TRAVEL AND FOREIGN SHIPPING

65 BROADWAY,
NEW YORK 6, N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: TOURAMEX

June 16, 1950

S P E C I A L D E L I V E R Y

Mr. Martin K. Williams
Foreign Service Educational Foundation
1906 Florida Avenue, N. W.
Washington 9, D. C.

Dear Mr. Williams:

Re: CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM
Mr. Elliot Cohen, Editor
Commentary Magazine

On May 22 the Foreign Service Educational Foundation authorized American Express to provide round trip transportation between New York City and Berlin to Mr. Cohen. The delegate advised us that air transportation would be unacceptable and that, because of commitments in New York, the only steamship sailing to which he could agree was the S. S. QUEEN ELIZABETH due to leave New York after last midnight.

Space on eastbound sailings at this season is at a premium, and on this particular one has been sold out for a considerable time, being actually under ticket. We exerted our best efforts in behalf of Mr. Cohen, but were unable to come up with the desired space. Mr. Cohen, on the recommendation of the line, we understand, attended the departure of the ship in the event that a passenger would be unable to sail and space be made available at the last moment.

An odd berth did become available in this manner and it was allotted to Mr. Cohen. The passenger borrowed from accomodating friends and made payment directly to the line. Will you authorize us to reimburse Mr. Cohen for funds he expended for his eastbound passage?

It would be of great assistance if we could have your reply on Monday.

Sincerely yours,

G. J. Gilmore
Asst. Passenger Traffic Manager

1850 — 100th Anniversary — 1950

please turn over

P. S. Since dictating the foregoing letter, I have been advised by Miss Kluger of the local New York office of the Congress for Cultural Freedom that it is Mr. Cohen's wish that reimbursement be made to Mrs. Cohen. I presume this arrangement will be agreeable to you should you find the reimbursement in order.

14-00000

Congress for Cultural Freedom

Congrès pour la liberté de la culture ★ *Kongress für Kulturelle Freiheit*

Berlin, Germany—June 26-30, 1950

International Committee:
BENEDETTO CROCE
JOHN DEWEY
KARL JASPERS
JACQUES MARITAIN
BERTRAND RUSSELL

June 23, 1950

GENERAL SECRETARY:
Melvin J. Lasky
Hotel am Steinplatz,
Berlin-Charlottenberg,
Germany

PUBLIC RELATIONS:
Arnold Beichman
20 West 40th St., New York City
CHickering 4-3060
LOngacre 5-3344

Colonel Louis Glaser
3051 Idaho Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C.

Dear Colonel Glaser:

Report from Berlin: The story is grossly exaggerated. The Stalinists have not even mentioned the Congress for the last two weeks. Berlin is seething over the Congress; the city is plastered with it.

Report from New York: Harold Lavine of Newsweek, at our instigation, spoke to Grosz who said that he is an artist, that he received numerous communications from the Eastern section of Germany about the Congress; that he is an artist and that he can't be bothered getting involved in so much correspondence. Newsweek will carry the story next week. Will Lissner of the Times is also interested.

Kempton did not carry the story; he was sidetracked by the distressing tale of the young girl Progressive Partyite who discovered the PP is not exactly democratic (her branch refused to hear Rogge on Tito). But the fruit flies made Lyons' column (enclosed). Did you see yesterday's N.Y. Herald-Tribune? There was a good story on the Congress by Joseph Newman from Berlin. I have only one copy; if I can get another, I will forward it.

Walter Mehring has his military permit for Berlin; I hope that by this time he has cleared his income tax statements for the last three years with the Treasury Dept. (he is an alien), but as I haven't heard from him for the last three hours, presumably things are going well. The American Express Company is working on his ticket.

Tomorrow the last of the delegates are off. I will be around to answer any press inquiries during the week of the Congress and then will close the office. I think the delegates can do their own worrying about the rubbers they left in Berlin.

I feel just like Cinderella — who never got to the ball.

Sincerely,

Pearl Kluger
Pearl Kluger

14-00000

SECRET

23 June 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: RECORD

SUBJECT: OPC Operations in Connection with Whitsun Communist Youth Demonstration in Berlin

1. At the request of the Departments of State and Defense, we had asked the Chief of the OPC German station to obtain a statement from General Maxwell D. Taylor, U. S. Commandant in Berlin, as to the effectiveness of the subject operations.

2. The cablegram from Lawrence De Neufville, Chief of OPC German Mission, dated 22 June, stated that General Taylor had asked Mr. De Neufville to convey his appreciation in the following terms:

a. "It has been of most positive value to my headquarters to know that lines of action outlined by our propaganda authorities have been disseminated throughout the Soviet Zone by a group such as yours." The success of the OPC mission in distributing over one million pieces of propaganda material before and during the Deutschlandtreffen is an achievement upon which the organization should be congratulated.

b. "Your mission is a delicate one in that you are specifically charged with avoiding attribution of your activities to any U. S. Government source or agency. This you have evidently succeeded in doing and it has been a matter of satisfaction to me to know that various matters that it was in our interest to accomplish could be performed by OPC without disclosing American interest or activity.

c. "If judgment from Berlin is of value to your organization, let me say that OPC work has proved its value during the Deutschlandtreffen. We are relying on similar or increased help from OPC in the future."

3. The German mission has advised that the original communication from General Taylor was pouched on 22 June 1950.

LOUIS GLASER
Executive for Germany, E III

JUN 29 4 05 PM '50

EEIII/LG/far
cc: OPC Registry (2)
EEIII Chrono
EEIII Subject ✓ PO Quick
EEIII Glaser File

SECRET

File with Project

Congress for Cultural Freedom

AP Berlin June 23

While the Communists planned their youth peace rally, the Soviet-controlled press railed at a western-sponsored International Congress for Cultural Freedom assembling in this city 100 miles behind the Iron Curtain.

A vanguard of more than 100 anti-Communist intellectuals arrived today for the five-day congress which is to open Monday. Writers, scientists and political and trade-union leaders are to attend from a score of countries.

Called "Center Of Spies"

The Communist press called the delegates "chained dogs of Wall Street," "an elite of renegades and Trotzkyites," and said the congress was a "center of spies" and a "congress of warmongers."

Communists also claimed supporters of the congress were to blame for a fire which swept an East Berlin Communist clubhouse yesterday.

James Burnham, American author, said the congress "must proclaim positively that the Kremlin-controlled 'partisans of peace' movement, which met at Stockholm, is [illegible] utter. [illegible] must show that there is only one way to peace, [illegible] the 'freedom road.'"

Barge Detention Denounced

Other Americans coming are David Lilienthal, former chairman of the United States Atomic Energy Commission; Tennessee Williams and Carson McCullers, playwrights; Robert Montgomery, actor, and Irving Brown, trade-union leader.

Meanwhile, the Russians accused British occupation officials of apparently trying to stoke up the cold war by "aggressive provocations" in the detention of 76 barges on canals in West Berlin.

~~[illegible]~~

Baltimore SUN 24 June 50

14-00000

with
the paper
Project file

CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

U.S. Group Set For Culture Role

By Reuters

Berlin

Eight Americans distinguished in the fields of arts, science, and letters will represent the United States at the "Congress for Cultural Freedom" to be held in Berlin from June 26 to 30.

They are: David Lilienthal, former head of the Tennessee Valley Authority and the United States Atomic Energy Commission; Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., author and Harvard University professor of history; Robert Montgomery, motion picture actor; Tennessee Williams, playwright; Guiseppe A. Borgese, author; James T. Farrell, novelist; and James Burnham and Sidney Hook, authors of political and philosophical works.

Delegations from Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries also will attend the Congress.

Monitor 21 June 50

File PDQUICK

ITINERARY

June 10 to 18	Kent, Connecticut Kent 78, ring 1, 2
18 June	Leave New York
19 June	Arrive Berlin (Kongress Fur Kulturelle Freiheit) Hotel am Steinplatz Berlin Charlottenburg 2 Berlin, Germany Chase National Bank Frankun am Main Taunas Anlage 11
5 July	Leave Berlin
5 July 11 July	Arrive Stockholm (Grand Hotel) Leave Stockholm
11 July 13 July	Arrive Brussels (Hotel Metropole) Leave Brussels
13 July	Arrive Paris (Hotel de la Tremoille) Chase National Bank 41 rue Cambon Paris
24 July	Leave Paris
24 July 29 July	Arrive Shannon ??? Leave Shannon
30 July	Arrive New York

File PDQuick

COPY

June 11, 1950

Dear Doctor,

Very happy news given in your call of yesterday. I found when I got here confirmation of our room at Hotel de la Tremoille, 14, rue de la Tremoille, scheduled for July 13-[illegible]. (The rue de la Tremoille is a short street off Ave. Francois 1er.) We shall expect to see you there and then.

I enclose from yesterday's H-T an item that you may not have seen. Our man seems to be doing just right so far.

I had last night a lengthy telephone call from William
Phillips (the editor of Partisan Review who was in Paris last au-
tumn, and who was concerned in the plan for a French edition).
When Mel Lasky was here, Phillips was ill; and Mel invited Philip
Rahv (his co-editor) to go to Berlin, more or less as representing
Partisan Review. Rahv later turned the invitation down. An of-
ficial invitation was never given to Phillips, but he had been
approached informally, I believe. Last night Phillips was
concerned both with Berlin and (especially) with the French [illegible]
zine setup. He understands that the original idea for a French e-
dition of P R is out, but that there is now in process a French
magazine which would have a special relation to P.R. (He made a
few points, in confidence, about who is supposed to be concerned
in this magazine - and I, for one, am not altogether easy in my
mind on the matter.)

In any case, Phillips thinks that if a special P R
connection is thought of, he probably ought to be involved a bit.
Specifically, if the French magazine affair is going ahead, he would
like to be in Paris; and he would also [illegible] Berlin.
He [illegible] thought that if he were officially invited to Berlin,
then he could go afterwards to Paris on the [illegible], and he sug-
gested that if something were going on, I could also work on it
when in Paris in July.

I bring this to the attention of you and your friends.
(I told Phillips that I would see in Berlin as soon as I got there
how things stood. He said that he would be ready to leave at
once if he were invited.)

My own opinion tends to be: 1) Phillips should not be
invited merely for Berlin, since there are enough Americans;
and if there are to be more, another type is more important; 2)
however, Partisan Review - that is, the American connection -
should be in the French magazine setup thoroughly from the be-
ginning; 3) if, therefore, the French magazine is now going ahead,

14-00000

then P R should be represented before these unreliable French characters twist matters up; 4) a combination trip of Berlin and the French magazine might justify an invitation for Phillips - I gather that if he is invited to Berlin, he will finance the Paris part of his trip; 5) it may, however, be that I, as a member of P R's Advisory Board, can sufficiently represent P R at this stage, if it be in order for it to be represented.

Well, I bring this to your attention, and through you to whomever else's relevant. You might see that a comment on the matter reaches me next week in Berlin. My own hesitation in giving a definite opinion on it comes from the fact that I have not heard for many months anything about the French magazine prospect and plan.

Our friend whom Dawson saw in New York seems worth pursuing at least a step or two farther. I have more or less arranged to get together with him in Paris. He apparently has one quite precise idea that, in the not too much I know about it now, sounds useful and possible.

We were delighted that Katherine and John were here.

We shall see you.

/s/ Jim

14-0000

National [illegible]

Washington

JEB   16 June

Present at conference in office of Asst. Secretary of State McKnight at conference today:

Messrs: McKnight
Grundahl
Kalorek
Buttles
Huddle
Neilson
Glaser

I have a complete, practically verbatim record of the meeting, but am setting down an extract of what took place.

Mr. McKnight stated that the meeting had been called to discuss ways and means of taking advantage of the Cultural Congress in Berlin by widespread dissemination of the product of the Congress, speeches, declarations, etc. Why would it not be a good idea to have Buttles communicate with Lasky and have latter send the material to Paris for publication in France, as well as here.

Mr. Neilson (ECA) said that speaking for ECA, they have a liberal view as to spending ECA funds and are anxious to cooperate with State, subject to limitations which are relevant to the present case, which are (a) expenditure to be approved on a project basis (b) a finger to be kept on the progress of expenditure (c) within certain totals (d) keep away from the flamboyant and spectacular. (For instance, no large gobs of ECA money to send US symphony orchestras touring through Europe.) Said Mr. Neilson, the Cultural Congress would fall within the zone of probable acceptability and should be a cooperative enterprise with State, to be cleared with ECA financial and legal advisers, but do not anticipate difficulty because the Cultural Congress is clearly related to the approved ECA policy of countering the Soviet peace offensive.

Mr. Buttles suggested that the best thing to do with product of Congress was to get local people to publish it; we furnish translations, paper, ink, etc.

The above suggestion led to one by Neilson that a Dissemination Committee might be formed, backed with our money. Buttles added that in addition to a more profound type job, there might be one for the unwashed public with

SECRET

14-00000

National Press Club

Washington

illustrations - and extracts of speeches.

Mr. McKnight concurred, thought we needed to work out the distribution problem by use of a committeewhich would take charge of publication and distribution - in many languages. Buttles added that we should use Germans and German facilities to see that manuscripts and photos are made available.

(At this point I suggested to Buttles that there would be a question of sponsorship of material.)

McKnight and Buttles agreed that Lasky should be contacted and put in a position of discussing the matter with Neilson who is returning to Paris tonight,

Neilson added he would like to get together with Cody and other State people in Paris.

At McKnight's suggestion, Buttles said he would communicate with Lasky and ask him to come to Paris to talk about the matter with Neilson.

Following are actual quotes:

Neilson: "I don't know a great deal about this Cultural Congress, is it apt to produce a major offensive against the USSR and against the peace offensive?"

McKnight: "Yes, I think so. They are a very important bunch of people."

Kelorex: "They are big names. Very high calibre, very impressive, their discussions could be dynamite in putting over telling ideas."

Neilson then pointed out that ECA was going to be in the business of using very important organizations of all kinds in Europe (gave some Italian references) but thought that because of the temporary character of ECA such a thing as development of the Cultural Congress should be turned over to State or CIA to handle and continue. (Somewhere previously I had asked Buttles, in order to make a point, whether the Congress was going to be self continuing - Bruce said he thought so.) Neilson said we should develop a full head of steam on the proposition and then should not drop out, should be continued by State through Lasky, or by CIA. (Actually was a plea for CIA to take notice of the Congress and take it over.)

McKnight then asked me if CIA was interested in the proposition as a whole. I replied it seemed very interesting. He then said if a conference was arranged in Paris would we like to have a CIA representative there, I answered I thought we might like ~~it~~ to have someone. I then asked Buttles if he was sure Lasky would go to Paris - Buttles said he would try to arrange to have either Lasky or Josselson (which was the reply I hoped for.) He said they were both State department people, both familiar with the Congress.

In effect, that was the end of the conference. McKnight again said that CIA should certainly be cut in on the proceedings from now on because of their future interest in the Congress.

Neilson's name: WALDEMAR NEILSON

Paris address: HOTEL TALLEYRAND

Time of meeting: NEILSON REQUESTS THAT IT TAKE PLACE AFTER WEDNESDAY OF NEXT WEEK.

I suggest that a cable be sent to Mike explaining exactly what is in the wind (info to Larry.) Personally I would decide to send either Lasky AND Mike, or Mike, or Lasky and Larry, or Larry alone. They ought to be advised at once. That ECA is willing to provide funds for production of a million copies of the speeches of the Congress and other publicity. Neilson said that labor committees and other cooperative groups might be used for dissemination. However, the greatest caution must be exercised to see that a committee on publications, or words to that effect, is appointed during the sessions of the Congress, and in my opinion it should be an unwitting group, except for one member; it should NOT have more than one US representative. It MIGHT be entirely German. Again it looks as though Lasky might have to be the secretary of such a group. I think all they have to do is start a quick 'fund raising campaign' for publications - and won't they be surprised at the

National Press Club

Washington

speed with which French, Italian, British and US organizations respond with lots of money for the purpose! Buttles and I had a quiet talk after the conference this afternoon and he is entirely in sympathy with my point of view, anxious to cooperate and not entirely sure that Lasky is the right man to go single handed to Paris. This guy Neilson is a peach. Sharp, keen, responsive and a worker - sticks out all over him.

I feel like a sheep killing dog not to stay on the job and see this through, but I've only got one son and I hope he'll only be married once. Please let me know if you need me; I will be at Hotel Fensgate, Bay State Road, Boston.

L. G.

Also — I think we should see that Burnham — or some other delegate — or several — touch on the Peace Offensive, exposing it as a swindle — which would endear the Congress all the more to State and ECA — and is well worthwhile in itself,

Tom

File PDQUICK

Memo of telephone conversation with Jim Burnham in New York

10 a.m. Thursday morning 15 June, 1950.

a. Contact with Burnham. In reply to my suggestion that I stop in New York Sat. morning to see him, discuss Congress affairs and deliver a pistol, Burnham replied that he was leaving this afternoon for his camp in Connecticut, would not return until Saturday night, was flying on Sunday morning. He suggested that there was little necessity for additional discussion of the Congress, that if any papers or articles (the pistol) were to be delivered to him, they could be sent by mail or otherwise to his NY address, care of Mrs. Claude Burnham, 3 E 69 St., telephone Rhinelander xx-47890; the address is a safe one, he says, with a trusted doorman on duty and a maid in the residence. (Not safe from our point of view - but presumably nothing xxxxx classified is to be transmitted.) Discussed this with Smith who says he will arrange to get pistol to Burnham.

b. Between now and Sat. night, Burnham will be at his camp in Connecticut, telephone: Kent 78, Ring 1 - 2.

c. Matter of extra expense to be allowed Pearl Kluger for gather signatures for cablegram to Congress, and for certain other incidentals connected with travel of delegates, Burnham's estimate this would not amount to more than $100. I authorized him to spend up to $150 for this purpose.

d. Matter of closing N.Y. office. I authorized continuation after July 1st only in form of one week's part time employment of Kluger, couple of hours a day and use of telephone.

e. Matter of permanent continuation of Congress office (presumably in Berlin); I said this should be discussed in Berlin, that we would expect a cablegram of recommendation before first of July, would immediately respond with a decision, possibly as to project amendment calling for funds for support of continuing office. (Impossible, I think, to anticipate decisions now as they would depend on success of Congress in attracting world publicity, furnishing base for xxxxxxx continuing propaganda and arousing communist opposition.)

L. G.

14-00000

COPY

Berlin-Charlottenburg, 12 June 1950

Dear Jim,

Thanks for letter of the 6th. Good to know that you and Marcia are due here so nice and early. Four more shoulders on which to unload the awful burden of this hard world.

What's this about not accepting the brilliant Aron-Koestler-Burnham Memo? That is now our working gospel. The International Committee lives on? No, no. It's been killed, it's dead. The five philosophers reign. The alphabetical order has come into new glory. Under separate cover you will receive the latest news from A to Z. New Correspondence paper is being printed. The program of the Congress will be the revised printed booklet which you already have.

As for the names, pretty kettle of fish you chaps fished together. We extended invitations. A few came up with affirmatives. Ayer from England, etc. Also--Jules Romains. Now that he's coming, Koestler -- via telephone yesterday -- says, oh, oh. Well, why in the world was he put on the list when he's so wishy-washy? You can't have him without letting him speak. And he's tentatively scheduled for about 10 minutes on the opening Monday program. Also, by the way, Koestler informed he won't be able to turn up even for a day before the Congress. I am writing today to ask him to plan a short opening address to round off the somewhat too ceremonial opening program with a political-keynoting speech. You might write him too, if it won't be over-doing it.

Also under separate cover, some papers that we have been sending out.

See you soon.

Yours,

MELVIN J. LASKY

Inc.

from Hotel in Paris

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: Louis Glaser	NO.
	DATE 12 June 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. MR. BAKER					PD Quick File
2.					
3.					
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15.					

FORM NO. 51.10
APR 1949

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

12 June 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: JOHN E. BAKER
Chief, EE III

SUBJECT: Letter of Instruction for Kenneth H. Hambley

1. Accompanying the approval of subject letter of instruction, it was requested by ADPC that I prepare a memorandum of my conversation with Mr. Richards covering arrangements for the travel of Hambley's wife.

2. On 31 May I saw Mr. Richards of Confidential Funds Division and explained the situation to him. Mr. Richards gave the following opinion:

> Mrs. Hambley may travel to the Cultural Congress, at the invitation of the Congress, in her own right, drawing money from the travel fund for the purpose of such travel without consideration of Hambley's status vis-a-vis CIA. This on the theory that whether or not Mrs. Hambley is a delegate to the Congress, her travel may be considered necessary because of services she will be expected to render, and also because her presence will protect her husband's cover. The Cultural Congress is ostensibly financially independent. It would, therefore, make any such arrangements without consideration of CIA rules regarding the travel of employees and agents.

LOUIS GLASER

EIII/LG/fdr

cc: EIII (2)

Noted
CDS 13 June 50

SECRET

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: E III

NO.

DATE: 7 June 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. EE					
2. W.E.				x	
3. ADPC		8 June	8 June	CDH	To Ch. EE (Lindsay)
4. Ch, EE		8 June			ADPC approves the last
5.					sentence of par 1 of the
6.					attached Memo of
7.					instr. on the understand-
8.					ing that it is understood
9.					by Hambley and all
10.					concerned that this action
11.					is not to be considered as
12.					establishing a precedent
13.					and that it is done
14.					solely because of the
15.					operational usefulness

of the individual (Mrs H)

over

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1948

SECRET

in this operation. ADDC also requests that Mr. Glaser prepare a memo of his conversation with Mr. Richards covering this arrangement in which Richards is understood to have stated that there was no objection to this from the point of view of CFD

SECRET

7 June 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Kenneth H. Hambley

SUBJECT: Letter of Instructions

1. Departure and Arrival

You will proceed on or about 19 June 1950 to Berlin, Germany, reporting upon your arrival there to the Chief of VLKiva Mission through arrangements of which you have been advised orally. En route to Berlin you are authorized to stop over in Paris if you deem such a step advisable in the furtherance of your mission. You will leave Berlin, Germany, on or about 29 June 1950 and return to the home station. En route to the home station you are authorized to stop over in Stockholm, Brussels and Paris for such amounts of time as may subsequently be approved by the home office upon your recommendation. In your visits to these European cities carefully refrain from establishing or indicating any official contact with representatives of this agency or other U. S. officials. You will be furnished travel facilities to Berlin and from Berlin to U. S., in advance, but you will be responsible for procuring all of your own travel facilities and hotel accommodations in cities which you visit en route. Authorization for this travel also extends to your wife, who has been briefed as to her operations in Berlin and also will accompany you as a matter of cover.

2. Cover

Your cover is that of a free-lance writer and lecturer visiting Berlin as a delegate to the Cultural Congress. Your general appearance and conduct at all times must be in keeping with this cover. You will not carry any classified material with you while traveling. You are not to recognize other employees of this agency unless arrangements have been made in advance or unless you can do so in full keeping with your cover. You will not attract attention to yourself either by acts uncharacteristic of your cover or by the absence of actions consistent with your cover.

3. Duties and Responsibilities

a. Operational

You have been thoroughly briefed on Project PBQUICK, and you will undertake such operational activities in connection with this project as fall within the instructions you receive

SECRET

SECRET

from the Chief, VLKiva Mission or his apthorized representative. These operational activities will be in addition to your cover responsibility as a delegate to the Cultural Congress.

b. Security

You are specifically charged with both physical and operational security in connection with matters which you handle and for which you are given responsibility.

David W. Ragsdale

DAVID W. RAGSDALE

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM:

NO. 5-25-7d4

DATE 7 June

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. EE-III	2204	JUN 12 1950			
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10.					
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15.					P. Zurich

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1948

SECRET

14-00000

JUN 9 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR SPECIAL OPERATIONS

SUBJECT : Lectures at Berlin House of Culture

1. Referring to your communication of 29 May, with enclosures, we are retaining the brochure and reports concerning lectures at the Berlin House of Soviet Culture.

2. This material has value for our work, but its value is somewhat vitiated by being more than two months late.

3. In reply to your further question we are interested in receiving such schedules of Soviet-sponsored lecture series, and summaries of principal lectures as you are able to supply conveniently.

4. It would be desirable to receive schedules of lectures and other cultural events as far in advance of the projected dates as possible.

FRANK G. WISNER
Assistant Director for
Policy Coordination

EIII/CWC/mc
cc: CSO
OPC Log (2)
EIII Chrono
EIII File

UNCLASSIFIED RESTRICTED CONFIDENTIAL SECRET
(SENDER WILL CIRCLE CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

5-44980

TO		INITIALS	DATE
1	AD OPC - "K"	C.H.	31 May
2	EE 31 May	M.G.	3 ...
3	E III		
4	EE-III		
5			

FROM		INITIALS	DATE
1	ADSO		
2			
3			

APPROVAL / INFORMATION / SIGNATURE
ACTION / DIRECT REPLY / RETURN
COMMENT / PREPARATION OF REPLY / DISPATCH
CONCURRENCE / RECOMMENDATION / FILE

REMARKS:
2 - For info
3 - For appr. action

[illegible] 5 June 50

SECRET CONFIDENTIAL RESTRICTED UNCLASSIFIED

FORM NO. 30-4
SEP 1947

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

MAY 29 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: Lectures at Berlin House of Culture

1. Attached are reports and a brochure concerning lectures at the Berlin House of Soviet Culture.

2. May we ask you to inform us if this material is useful to you and if you are interested in receiving any other material of the sort that we may obtain.

ROBERT A. SCHOW
Assistant Director
Special Operations

SO DB-25432

Encl: Two

1. A Brochure Concerning Lectures at Berlin House of Culture
2. Reports Concerning Lectures at Berlin House of Culture

SECRET

MAY 29 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR POLICY COORDINATION

SUBJECT: Lectures at Berlin House of Culture

1. Attached are reports and a brochure concerning lectures at the Berlin House of Soviet Culture.

2. May we ask you to inform us if this material is useful to you and if you are interested in receiving any other material of the sort that we may obtain.

ROBERT A. SCHOW
Assistant Director
Special Operations

SO DB-25432

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1. A Brochure Concerning Lectures at Berlin House of Culture
2. Reports Concerning Lectures at Berlin House of Culture

Bibliothek

(30 000 Bände, der größte Teil in deutscher Sprache)

Öffnungszeiten: täglich von 12.00 bis 20.00 Uhr (außer mittwochs), sonntags von 16.00 bis 20.00 Uhr.

Die Bücher können im Lesesaal eingesehen bzw. für die Dauer von 10 Tagen entliehen werden.

Dem Leser stehen zur Verfügung:

Werke des Marxismus-Leninismus, Werke über die politische, wirtschaftliche und kulturelle Entwicklung der Sowjetunion (Standardwerk: Große Sowjetische Enzyklopädie in 64 Bänden) und Werke der fortschrittlichen Schriftsteller der ganzen Welt.

Es liegen aus: 100 sowjetische und 90 deutsche Zeitschriften. Entsprechende Zeitschriften- und Buchkataloge ermöglichen den Zugang zu den wichtigsten und aktuellsten Fragen auf jedem Gebiete.

Ausstellungen

Öffnungszeiten: täglich von 12.00 bis 19.00 Uhr (außer mittwochs), sonntags von 16.00 bis 19.00 Uhr.

Die Sowjetarmee — das Bollwerk des Friedens und der Sicherheit in der ganzen Welt

Lenin-Ausstellung

Stalin-Ausstellung

Fünfjahrplan
(Diagramme und Bildberichte)

Die Geschichte der KPdSU (B)

Das Kinderbuch

Reproduktionen der Tretjakow-Galerie

RUSSISCHE SPRACHKURSE werden ständig durchgeführt, Neuanmeldungen für Anfängerkurs, der im März beginnt, Zimmer 229.

Zum Besuch unserer Veranstaltungen wollen Sie folgendes beachten:

Für Vorträge, Musik- und Literaturabende werden in der Organisationsabteilung unseres Hauses (Zimmer 15, Tel. 42 50 51, App. 157 und 250) Eintrittskarten kostenlos ausgegeben. Wegen der starken Nachfrage empfiehlt es sich, die Kartenbestellungen rechtzeitig vorzunehmen. Betriebe werden bei Sammelbestellungen bevorzugt.

Die Kinoveranstaltungen um 19.00 Uhr sind für die berufstätige Bevölkerung reserviert. Kinder unter 14 Jahren haben zu diesen Vorstellungen keinen Zutritt. Für Kinder können in Vereinbarung mit den Schulen dienstags und donnerstags in der Zeit von 10.00 bis 14.00 Uhr Sonderveranstaltungen eingelegt werden.

Es wird gebeten, die Plätze rechtzeitig einzunehmen, da nach Beginn der Veranstaltung die Karten ihre Gültigkeit verlieren und die freien Plätze von Besuchern ohne Karten benutzt werden.

Fahrverbindung: U- u. S-Bahn Friedrichstraße, Straßenbahnen 1 u. 46, Omnibus 9.

Druckerei 36

SECRET DB-23432

HAUS DER KULTUR
DER SOWJETUNION
BERLIN C2, UNTER DEN LINDEN, AM FESTUNGSGRABEN 1

Veranstaltungen

VOM 13. MÄRZ BIS 31. MÄRZ 1950

15. Mittwoch — 18.00 Uhr, Theater

FESTVERANSTALTUNG: „Die Wahlen in der SU — ein Fest des Sowjetvolkes". Mitwirkende: die Solistenvereinigung des Berl. Rundfunks unter Leitung von Nationalpreisträger Helmut Koch, Robert Trösch und das Ballett: „Das verlorene Tuch".

16. Donnerstag — 18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal

VORTRAG: Wilhelm Koenen: „Die Nationale Front des demokratischen Deutschlands im Tageskampf". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

12.00 Uhr, Eichensaal

VORTRAG: Oberstleutnant Simonenkow: „Was bringen die neuen Preissenkungen dem Sowjetvolk?" Anschließend Diskussion.

17. Freitag — 18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal

VORTRAG: Heinz Abraham: „Die ideologischen Grundlagen der bolschewistischen Partei" (W. I. Lenins Werk „Was tun?"). Anschließend Diskussion und Dokumentarfilme über die Wahlen in der SU.

18 Uhr, Eichensaal

VORTRAG: A. Primerow: „Der Sport in der SU". Anschließend Sportfilmprogramm.

18. Sonnabend — 18.00 Uhr, Theater

Festlicher Abend anläßlich des Tages der Jugend: „Die Jugend der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik — eine Jugend mit einer großen Zukunft". Es spricht: Paul Verner. Mitwirkende: Robert Trösch und Tanz- und Chorgruppen der Jugend.

20. Montag — 18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal

VORTRAG: Oberstltn. Naliwaiko: „W. M. Molotow — ein hervorragender Staatsmann der SU".

SECRET

21. Dienstag — **18.00 Uhr, Theater**

VORLESUNG: Major Ptasnikow: „Die Partei der Bolschewiki in der Periode des Übergangs zur friedlichen Arbeit an der Wiederherstellung der Volkswirtschaft". Anschließend Diskussion und Film: „Stürmischer Lebensabend".

19.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal

VORTRAG: Stefan Heymann: „Die nächsten Perspektiven des kulturellen Lebens im demokratischen Deutschland". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

24. Freitag — **18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal**

VORTRAG: Hanna Wolf: „Der Block der Kommunisten und Parteilosen — Ausdruck der Sowjetdemokratie". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

BUCHDISKUSSION: N. D. Schtscherbow u. Hans Siebert über das Werk: „Der Weg ins Leben" von A. S. Makarenko.

25. Sonnabend — **19.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal**

Mussorgskij-Klavier-Abend. Es spielt und spricht: Günter Hunold.

26. Sonntag — **19.00 Uhr, Theater**

LITERATUR-ABEND: „Gorki — Kämpfer für den Humanismus — Kämpfer gegen die Weltreaktion". Es spricht: Achim Wolter. Es rezitieren namhafte Künstler der Berliner Bühnen. Es spielt: Willi Niggeling.

27. Montag — **12.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal**

VORTRAG: Hermann Matern: „Unser Kampf um die Festigung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

28. Dienstag — **18.00 Uhr, Theater**

VORLESUNG: Major Ptasnikow: „Die Partei der Bolschewiki im Kampf für die sozialistische Industrialisierung des Landes". Anschließend Diskussion und Filme „Donezbecken" und „Ural".

18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal

VORTRAG: Siegbert Kahn: „Das labouristische England — Anhängsel des amerikanischen Imperialismus". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

29. Mittwoch — **19.00 Uhr, Theater**

VORTRAG: Arnold Zweig: „Die Aufgabe des Schriftstellers im Kampf der Nationalen Front um die Einheit und Unabhängigkeit der deutschen Nation". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

30. Donnerstag — **18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal**

VORTRAG: Hermann Axen: „Was ist die amerikanische Lebensweise?" Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

18.00 Uhr, Theater

VORTRAG: Kurt Heiß: „Die Wahlen in der SU — Ausdruck der Sowjetdemokratie".

31. Freitag — **18.00 Uhr, Theater**

VORTRAG: Prof. Gerhart Eisler: „Der Kampf der Sowjetdiplomatie um den Frieden". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

18.00 Uhr, Marmorsaal

VORTRAG: Dozent Glaschkin: „Die sowjetische Staatsordnung". Anschließend Diskussion und Film.

Theaterveranstaltungen

VOM 20. MÄRZ BIS 31. MÄRZ 1950

Lustspiel

„INSEL DES FRIEDENS"

von I. Petrow, deutsch von Georgiä Tanewa
Regie: Eduard Matzick

Premiere am Montag, 20. März, um 19.00 Uhr im Theater. Weitere Vorstellungen finden am 22., 23., 24. und 27. März jeweils um 19.00 Uhr sowie am 25. um 20.00 Uhr im Theater statt. Eintrittspreise von DM 1,— bis DM 3,—.

Karten an der Theaterkasse in der Zeit von 11 bis 19 Uhr erhältlich oder Zimmer 5, Telefon 42 50 51, Apparat 175.

Filmveranstaltungen

VOM 17. MÄRZ BIS 31. MÄRZ 1950

Kinosaal

17.—23. März	„Die Csardasfürstin"
24.—26. März	„Kunst in der Sowjetunion"
27. u. 28. März	„Unter fremden Menschen"
30. u. 31. März	„Meine Universitäten"

Täglich 17.00 und 19.30 Uhr, freitags und sonnabends nur 17.00 Uhr. Sonntags 14.30, 17.00 und 19.30 Uhr.

Karten erhältlich im Zimmer 5, Telefon 42 50 51, Apparat 175.

Kinderveranstaltungen im Theater:

19. März	„Der Zauberfisch" und „Der erste Unterricht"	11.00 u. 14.00 Uhr
26. März	„Die Kinder des Kapitän Grant" „Gesetz der großen Liebe"	11.00 u. 14.00 Uhr

Die Veranstaltungen um 11.00 Uhr sind nur für die Kinder aus den Westsektoren Berlins. Die Karten werden durch die Gesellschaft für Deutsch-Sowjetische Freundschaft ausgegeben.

Karten für die 14.00-Uhr-Vorstellung kostenlos: Haus der Kultur der Sowjetunion, Zimmer 5, Telefon 42 50 51, Apparat 175.

"Cuno" 14.3.50. 0 10-26 932

Bericht Nr.12.

Die Veranstaltungen im Haus der Kultur der S.U. zeigen eine aufsteigende Linie. Den Gästen wird ein immer vielseitigeres Programm dargeboten. Immer mehr Besucher, davon viel Stammgäste, stellen sich ein. Damit steigt auch die Wirkung, der Einfluß im Sinne der sowjetischen Gastgeber bei deutschen breiten Volksmassen.

Anläßlich des dreijährigen Bestehens des Hauses gab die Geschäftsführung auf großen dekorativen Wandtafeln bekannt, daß 1947 105 Vorträge stattfanden; 1948 waren es 197 und 1949 schon 328 geworden. Gegenwärtig gibt es in einer Woche mitunter etwa zehn Vorträge, meist mit anschließendem Film, daneben zahlreiche musikalische und künstlerische Vorstellungen und die eigentlichen Filme, im Monat annähernd zehn verschiedene. Berücksichtigt man dazu noch die ständigen Ausstellungen, die stets lebhaft besucht werden, und häufige festliche Versammlungen, so kann man schätzen, daß mindestens zweitausend Menschen täglich (mit Ausnahme eines Ruhetages in jeder Woche) das Haus der Kultur betreten. Sie werden auch durch die repräsentative äußere Aufmachung und die kostenlose Betreuung beeindruckt. Solche Räume kennen manche (wohl die meisten) Besucher nur aus Film oder Bildern, und auf seidendamastbespannte Polstermöbel aus Schloß Sanssouci können sie sich sonst auch nicht setzen.

Die Vorträge kann man ihrem Inhalt nach in einige Kategorien aufteilen. Da gibt es solche, die das Grundsätzliche und Dogmatische der Parteilehre erläutern. Hierzu gehört etwa "Die marxistisch-leninistische Lehre vom Staat" oder "Klassen und Klassenkampf" oder "Materialismus oder Idealismus"; ferner Vortragsreihen über Lenins Werke oder über die Geschichte der Partei der Bolschewiki.

Andere Vorträge haben außenpolitische Fragen zum Gegenstand, z.B. ein Vortragszyklus über die Außenpolitik der UdSSR, ferner über den "Sieg der Volkskräfte in China", über den "Freiheitskampf der kolonialen Völker" oder die "Hintergründe der amerikanischen Außenpolitik".

Weitaus die meisten Vorträge befassen sich mit inneren Zuständen der UdSSR. Es ist selbstverständlich, daß alle Einrichtungen der Sowjetunion im günstigsten Lichte dargestellt werden. Der Hörer erfährt von Macht und Reichtum, Fortschritt und Rekorden der Sowjetunion und von den vorbildlichen Leistungen ihrer Einwohner. Einige charakteristische Themen lauteten: "Bodenschätze der S.U.", "Der Nachkriegs-Fünfjahrplan", die "Stachanow-

Bewegung" und "Der Plan zur Umwandlung der Natur". Auch über den "Lebensstandard der Werktätigen" wird berichtet, über den Staatshaushalt der UdSSR, über Volksbildung, Sport, Leben der Frauen und dergleichen mehr. Das Programm ist vielseitig und findet immer eine interessierte Hörergemeinschaft.

Hieran reihen sich auch deutsche Themen. Während die vorgenannten Vorträge vorwiegend von sowjetischen Offizieren oder Funktionären gehalten werden, holt man zur Behandlung der Deutschland betreffenden Fragen meist "prominente" Persönlichkeiten der S.E.D. und der ostdeutschen Regierung oder solche, die bekanntermaßen mit deren Ideen sympathisieren (z.B. Minister Rau, Prof. Gerhart Eisler, Dr. Kurt Fischer, Wilhelm Koenen, Arnold Zweig u.s.w.). Gegenwärtig steht die Politik der "nationalen Front" im Vordergrund. Soweit Musik von hervorragender Qualität geboten wird, ist sie meist auf die gleiche politische Tendenz abgestimmt. Auch den verschiedenen volksdemokratischen Ländern sind bestimmte Vorträge und Filme gewidmet.

Die A u s s t e l l u n g e n gehen ständig nebenher. Jetzt gibt es u.a. eine solche über sowjetische Architektur, die meisterhafte Riesenphotos der größten und schönsten modernen Bauten der UdSSR enthält, Regierungspaläste, Theater, Arbeitergroßwohnhäuser, Sanatorien, Bahn- und Hafengebäude, Parks. Eine über die sowjetische Armee steht vor der Eröffnung. Andere Ausstelaungen zeigten oder zeigen Leistungen der sowjetischen Malerei, Graphik, Plakatkunst, Bücher und Kinderbücher, Bühnenbilder, Material zum Leben von Lenin, Stalin, Gorki und Puschkin, Filmwesen, 800 Jahre Moskau, Fünfjahrplan, Geschichte der kommunistischen Partei/ und Kampf um den Frieden u. dgl.

Stets gewinnt man den Eindruck, daß der Betrieb im Hause mit Hilfe reichlichen Personals sorgfältig organisiert ist.

"Cuno"

16. März 1950.
Bericht Nr.13.

DB-25832

Über die "Nationale Front" des "demokratischen" Deutschlands im Tageskampf sprach Wilhelm Koenen am 16.3.50. im Haus der Kultur der S.U. Der Theaterrraum war voll; viel Polizisten als Zuhörer. Koenen, prominenter SED-Bonze, linientreuer Mann des "Volksrats", ist ein typischer Agitator und Demagoge. Er spricht mit lauter, geschulter Stimme, lebhaft und einprägsam. Dabei reiht er Phrasen und Schlagworte aneinander, ohne eigene Ideen zu entwickeln. Aber der kritik- und urteilslose Hörer erliegt leicht seinem Wortschwall. Scharf und heftig sind seine Ausfälle. Adenauer ist der "skrupellose Vertreter amerikanischer Monopolinteressen" und nebenbei ein "~~//////~~ Schwager zweiten Grades von Mac Cloy" und hat Westdeutschland leichtsinnigerweise mit mindestens 35 Milliarden Westmark Schulden belastet, während die "Deutsche Demokratische Republik" schuldenfrei dasteht. Elend, Verfall und Hoffnungslosigkeit herrschen in Westdeutschland. "Bei uns (d.h. im glücklichen östlichen Teil Deutschlands) geht es schrittweise voran, während es im kolonialen Deutschland (gemeint ist der Westen) sprungweise zurückgeht!", rief Koenen aus.

Der Redner forderte, daß die politische Agitation in ganz Berlin sowie in der Ostzone planmäßig verstärkt werden solle. Überall sollen Agitationstrupps geschult werden. Sie sollen z.B. in kleinen Gruppen in den Berliner S- und U-Bahnen durch laute Gespräche im Sinne der "nationalen Front" die Öffentlichkeit "aufklären". Im Ostsektor und in der Ostzone sollen sie Verständnis wecken für die (von der SED und ihren Auftraggebern) geforderte vorfristige Erfüllung des Zweijahrplanes sowie für ein neues Gesetz, das die Ablieferungspflicht der Landwirtschaft erhöht. Auch das Einsammeln von "Buntmetallen" soll durch die politische Organisation bis herunter zu den Hausobleuten gründlicher betrieben werden. Daneben soll die "Wachsamkeit" (auch ein Wort typisch moskauer Prägung) gegenüber den Lauen und Widerspenstigen verschärft werden. Zur Erläuterung, wie und wo die Gefahr von "Saboteuren" droht, wurde anschließend der Defa-Film "Der Auftrag Hoegners", der schon oft im Hause gelaufen ist, nochmals gezeigt.

Die deutsche Bevölkerung steht, wie Koenen ausführte, vor einem entscheidenden inneren Kampfabschnitt. Es gilt, die Schranken zu beseitigen, welche die "nationale Front" noch von ihrem Ziel trennen, ihre Grundsätze auf ganz Deutschland auszudehnen. In diesem Sinne soll das Pfingstreffen der deutschen Jugend zu mehr als einer Demonstration werden. Ganz Berlin soll damit gewonnen werden.

Vortr. . W. Koenen am 16.3.50., B. st. 2. UR - 35432

"Cuno" - Bericht Nr.13. /Fortsetzung/

Berlin ist (laut Koenen) ~~dies/ist~~ der Mittelpunkt nicht nur Deutschlands, sondern des Blocks der Volksdemokratien und ganz Europas! Ohne Berlin kein Friede, keine "Freiheit", keine Einheit Deutschlands. Der jetzige Zustand, daß Westberlin sich dem Herrschaftsanspruch der "nationalen Front" entzieht, muß beseitigt werden.

Etwa die zweite Hälfte des Koenenschen Vortrags beschäftigte sich mit den Vorgängen bei der Demontage in Watenstedt-Salzgitter und enthielt drastische Kommentare zu den Pressenachrichten der letzten Tage. Koenen schilderte den erfolgreichen Widerstand der deutschen Arbeiterschaft gegen die Zerstörung ihrer Arbeitsstätten, gegen aggressive Pläne der Westalliierten. Am Schluß des Vortrags meldete sich zur Diskussion nur ein Mann aus dem Publikum mit dem Vorschlag, der Belegschaft in Watenstedt-Salzgitter die Sympathie aller Versammelten telegraphisch auszusprechen. Die Resolution wurde in Abstimmung einstimmig angenommen.

"Cuno"

Bericht Nr. 14. 12-03432

" Die S o w j e t a r m e e – das Bollwerk des Friedens und der Sicherheit in der ganzen Welt "
ist das Motto einer Ausstellung, die am 17.3.50. im Haus der Kultur der Sowjetunion eröffnet wurde.

In einer blumengeschmückten Vorhalle und drei Räumen sieht man Bilder, Landkarten mit Erläuterungen und großplakatierte Zitate. Das ganze könnte man als einen kriegsgeschichtlichen Schnellkursus der sowjetischen Armee bezeichnen. Waffen, Uniformen und dergleichen, was sonst in Heeresmuseen zu finden ist, werden hier nicht gezeigt. Auch technisch ist über den heutigen Stand der Armee nichts Neues zu entnehmen. Die Ausstellung trägt mehr ideologischen Charakter und eine bestimmte politische Tendenz. Die äußere Ausstattung ist dekorativ sehr sorgfältig und künstlerisch gemacht.

Die Bilder beginnen zeitlich mit Gemälden aus der Revolutionszeit im Oktober 1917, als die ersten Trupps bewaffneter Arbeiter sich zur "Roten Garde" zusammenschlossen. Stets stehen schon hier Lenin und Stalin Seite an Seite.

Auf mehreren Landkarten werden sodann die Feldzüge des Bürgerkrieges illustriert, in deren Verlauf die Rote Armee nacheinander die fremden Invasionstruppen sowie ihre inneren weiß=russischen Gegner besiegte. Von März bis Oktober 1919 ging es gegen die von Osten anrückenden Truppen Koltschaks, nachdem schon 1918 britische Expeditionstruppen von Murmansk aus vergeblich ins Land einzudringen versucht hatten. Bedrohlicher für die junge Sowjetmacht wurden damals (1919/20) die Vorstöße Denekins von Süden her, die jedoch Ende 1920 mit einem vollen Sieg der Roten Armee und Vertreibung der Gegner aus der Krim endeten. Auch des polnischen Angriffs erwehrte sich die Rote Armee. Schließlich gelang es ihr auch, in Kämpfen, die sich bis Oktober 1922 hinzogen, ihre Macht von Irkutsk bis Wladiwostok im Fernen Osten wiederherzustellen. Die Rolle Stalins bei der Leitung dieser Unternehmen wird besonders hervorgehoben. Eine auf einem großen Tisch montierte Kartenskizze zeigt z.B. durch Fähnchen und Daten Stalins Fahrten durch das ausgedehnte Operationsgebiet zwischen Nordrußland und Kaukasus.

Der größte Raum wird durch Bilder aus dem letzten Krieg gefüllt. Darunter ist kaum Material, das nicht schon durch Zeitschriften früher bekannt geworden wäre. Wieder zeigen große Lage= und Bewegungs=Skizzen die Zerschlagung der Hitler=Armeen in groß=

angelegten, für die Sowjetarmee siegreichen Schlachten. Man kann sich deutlich vorstellen, wie die Schlachten vor Moskau Dez. 1941, bei Stalingrad Sept.-Dez. 1942, bei Kursk und Charkow im Sommer 1943 und schließlich im Raum um Berlin sich abwickelten. Unter einem Bilde von einer sowjetischen Waffenfabrik steht: " "Die sowjetische Armee errang ihre Erfolge mit Waffen, die von sowjetischen Konstrukteuren gebaut sind."
In einer Inschrift zu 10 großen strategischen Bewegungen der Armeen im Jahre 1944 heißt es: "In der so entstandenen Situation war es klar, daß die Sowjetunion auch ohne Hilfe der Verbündeten im Stande ist, ganz Deutschland zu besetzen und auch Frankreich zu befreien".

Auf diese eigentlichen Kriegsbilder folgt eine Serie unter dem Leitspruch "Befreiung der Völker". Man sieht, wie einrückende sowjetische Truppen in Prag, Budapest, Bukarest und auch im Fernen Osten von der einheimischen Bevölkerung jubelnd begrüßt werden, und gewinnt aus Bildern von der Parade im Jahre 1947 vor dem Kreml einen gewissen Eindruck von der heutigen Stärke und Einsatzbereitschaft der Armee. Bilder von besonders verdienten Militärs finden sich in allen Abteilungen.

Im Moskau und in anderen sowjetisvhen Städten gibt es auch besondere Armee- T h e a t e r , deren Aufführungen Themen von Siegen, Feldherren und Heldentaten der sowjetischen Armee verherrlichen. -

In diesem Rahmen mögen noch zwei Filme erwähnt sein, die kürzlich im Haus der Kultur der S.U. gezeigt wurden.

Der eine behandelt den 2. Teil der Stalingrad-Schlacht. Kein eigentlicher Kriegs-Dokumentarfilm, d.h. keine im Kriege an der Front gemachten Aufnahmen, sondern später mit Schauspielern und Statisten-Truppen gestellte filmische Handlung. Die Persönlichkeit des Generalissimus Stalin steht im Vordergrund der Idee. Der deutsche Beschauer erfährt, in wie sinnloser Weise der wahnsinnige Hitler Hunderttausende deutscher Soldaten in aussichtsloser Lage dahin opferte. Das Publikum nahm den Film mit Ernst und Ergriffenheit auf.

Ein anderer Film "Die von Kronstadt" heroisiert den erfolgreichen Widerstand Roter Marinetruppen im Jahre 1919 vor Leningrad im Kampf gegen weißrussische Judenitsch-Truppen. Je heftiger gekämpft und geschossen wird, desto lebhafter reagieren die zahlreichen Jugendlichen unter den Zuschauern. Der Film läuft in russischer Sprache mit deutschen Unterzeilen.

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "TO" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "TO" column. Each officer should initial (check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Routing and Record Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: III/RE

NO. NO.NO(See ZRPacer Manifest #153)

DATE Rec'd. 9 June 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. EE 3					Copy 1 and 2 of letters a/e manifest. FIELD DISPATCH PLEASE EXPEDITE
2.					
3.					Copy 3 of 3 TO: EE III/RE
4.					
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15.					File

FORM NO. 51-10
FEB 1950

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

POUCH MANIFEST

TRUE NAME POUCH

5 June 1950

[illegible] POUCH No. 153

TO: Chief, VLKiva
Washington, D. C.

ATTN: Joseph F. Stribling

1. Two letters (each in trip) from the Congress for Cultural Freedom.

Julia F. Beary

Received: [signature]

Date: JUN [illegible] 1950

SECRET

accompanied by invitation to Max Yergan and Prof. Spero

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

DATE

TO: Olmstead Rm 2223

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

* 7500 (2 [illegible]

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2000 (1 [illegible]

200 [illegible]

1000 [illegible]

1000 [illegible]

* 10 000 [illegible] 27 [illegible]

12 [illegible]

FROM:

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

EXTENSION

FORM NO. 38-8
SEP 1946

SECRET

8 June 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: EE

SUBJECT: Status of Advanced Accounts (PDQUICK)

1. With reference to advances of money for PDQUICK, referred to in memorandum of 7 June signed by Chief, Staff III, four of these advances, involving participation of Mr. Carmel Offie, are itemized as follows:

$12,000 delivered to Mr. Offie on 25 April 1950 for which a receipt was obtained dated 27 April 1950 from Mr. Jay Lovestone of the Free Trade Union Conference.

$10,000 advanced to L. Glaser on 18 May for which a receipt is on file signed by Jay Lovestone dated 19 May.

$7,500 delivered to Mr. Offie about 20 May for which receipt is on file, this money delivered to National Committee For Free Europe.

2. The first two items referred to above report a duplication. This was called to Mr. Offie's attention on 26 May, again on 31 May, and again on 7 June. On these occasions, Mr. Offie stated that he was aware of the situation (that FTUC had received an extra $10,000 for PDQUICK) and that he would either have the money returned or would see that it was designated for another project. This adjustment is now in process for handling.

LOUIS GLASER
EE III

EE/III/LG/far
cc: EIII - 3

SECRET

Dedicated to the cause of Peace Through Freedom — NOT "Peace Through Slavery" — We, as citizens both of free countries and of countries suffering Soviet tyranny,

Hereby hail the initiative of the Berlin Congress For Cultural Freedom in joining together intellectual leaders who cherish the freedom of the republics of the West, and seek the freedom of the peoples of the East;

And declare our hope that those nations which now temporarily endure Kremlin-imposed spiritual and physical bondage shall soon, by man's unconquerable love of liberty, be restored to the fellowship of free men, free thought, and free expression; [and that the cultural leaders of those nations will, after their liberation, take upon themselves the responsibility of enlightening their fellow citizens so long held in darkness.]

The Warden of St. Antony's

One bright afternoon in the fall of 19[illegible], a big car made its way through the streets of Oxford, England, bearing a tubby little old man with a scraggly mustache, who had come to take his first look at the university. At that time few Oxonians had ever heard of 70-year-old Antonin Besse. Nor did they know that he was the mysterious, anonymous French millionaire who had just given Oxford one of the biggest gifts in its history—$6,000,000 for a new college (TIME, Jan. 31, 1949). But by last week, the whole university was buzzing with preparations for Oxford's first new college in 13 years.

To house the students of the newest college, Oxford authorities had acquired a small group of buildings once used as an Anglican convent. These they renamed St. Antony's, in honor of Benefactor Antonin Besse. Then they began laying plans for the curriculum which St. Anthony's students would follow.

Explosion in Yugoslavia. Antonin Besse had laid down only one stipulation. He wanted both Frenchmen and Englishmen to be admitted, to study in an atmosphere of Anglo-French cooperation. To create that atmosphere, Oxford picked as St. Antony's first warden just the sort of independent-minded, well-educated Englishman Besse had learned to admire during the years he had traded and trav-



Reference WASH 6049 Out 56805
and cable written 5 June WASH Out

The Warden of St. Antony's

One bright afternoon in the fall of 1948 a car made its way through the streets of Oxford, England, bearing a little old man with a straggly mustache, who had come to take his first look at the university. At that time few Oxonians had ever heard of 70-year-old Antonin Besse. Nor did they know that he was the mysterious, anonymous French millionaire who had just given Oxford one of the biggest gifts in its history—$6,200,000 for a new college (TIME, Jan. 31, 1949). But by last week the whole university was buzzing with preparations for Oxford's first new college in 13 years.

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OXFORD'S DEAKIN
"Just six files and me."

A Fellow and tutor of history at Oxford's Wadham College, he had worked with Winston Churchill on Churchill's monumental life of Marlborough. Right after Munich, he joined the army. He was the first officer to parachute into Yugoslavia,* worked so closely with Tito that the two were once wounded by the same bomb explosion. After the war, a lieutenant colonel with a D.S.O., he returned to Wadham, also began helping Churchill with his famed war memoirs. Last week 36-year-old Bill Deakin took over as Warden of St. Antony's.

Trouble in the Drains. So far, Warden Deakin had neither staff, students nor furniture—"just six files and me." He still had a great deal of remodeling to do to get ready for Michaelmas term in October. Then, "after getting all the drains

Reference and cable

Cut

* Under the command of [illegible] ... (TIME, [illegible])

[illegible] 22, 1950

(OVER

Metro-Goldwyn-
filmed at Sun
Van Johnson and

settled," he would have to pick a permanent committee of British and French scholars to select his students.

As Besse had suggested, a third of those 50 students will be French. Though their pattern of study will be much the same as that of other Oxonians, its emphasis will be on European history and economics. And now & then, after things get started at St. Antony's, M. Besse himself will drive up in his big car to offer his advice. "I shall welcome it," says Warden Deakin. "He's an extraordinary man . . . a genius."

Right at Home

When pretty, brown-haired Martha Lucas, 37, resigned as President of Sweet Briar College for women (TIME, Oct. 17), she caught the colonnaded Virginia campus a bit off guard. Nevertheless, the trustees set right to work hunting for a



Walter McCardell

ANNE PANNELL
Women and the world.

successor. Judging by their choice last week, they had apparently kept as their model Martha Lucas herself.

The new president is pretty, brown-haired Anne Gary Pannell, 39, the mother of two sons. Southern-born (in Durham, N. C.), like her predecessor, she went to Oxford for her doctorate in history (Martha went to the University of London), eventually became academic dean of Baltimore's Goucher College for women (Martha was a dean at Radcliffe). In recent years, while global-minded Martha Lucas became a UNESCO delegate and started a Junior Year Abroad program for Sweet Briar, global-minded Anne Pannell has spent much of her time arranging international student scholarships.

Incoming President Pannell will take over her new post July 1. For the 450 girls at fashionable, forward-looking Sweet Briar, her appointment meant that everything would go right on running just as smoothly and amiably as ever.

2 June 1950

American Express Company
65 Broadway
New York, N. Y.

ATTENTION: Mr. Cerard Gilmore

Dear Mr. Gilmore:

Please add the following two names to the list of authorized delegates to the Congress for Cultural Freedom:

Professor German Arciniegas (now at Columbia University) who will require transportation either from Ann Arbor, Michigan, or New York City — whichever he selects.

Mr. George Schuyler (Editor)
270 Convent Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Sincerely yours,

FOR MR. PHILIP H. WATTS:

MARTIN K. WILLIAMS
(Louis Glaser)

14-00000

JEE:

Re - Schlaesinger.

He is a German Jew, US citizen, lives in New York, in construction business, makes trips to Germany, knows German industrialists and politicians. About 55.

Offie kept his paper -- is having it copied, will send us a copy.

S. was in Germany five or six weeks ago and was commented on critically and unfavorably in HICOG cables. Offie says this is because S. is disgusted with entire State and HICOG handling of German affairs, says people are either uninformed or incompetent or vicious, meaning by vicious the group of German Jews who were disciples of the Morgenthau plan, who hate Germany and Germans. He has let his antipathy to the HICOG crowd be seen and has avoided them. Offie suggested that Kellerman and Rheinstein probably were examples of the type that S. referred to.

L. G.

Re - Yergin (and Spero)

C.O. was under some misapprehension as to the formula for drawing funds for delegates. He is now straightened out and has agreed that he will advise JL to add Yergin's name to his list and notify Am. Express. Yergin then simply draws his money from Am. Express. CO was under impression that the amount would be designated and Yergin given an order for it, or words to that effect. Spero also will be on FTUC list.

Re - paras. 4 and 5 of Brln. 2887.

Para. 4 does not require answer -- though Hambley and I think they are wrong in rejecting Thompson.

I would like to send attached draft in answer to para. 5. Had to consult Hambley before I could prepare this.

Re: HJ Mueller. He will be added to NCFE list.

Re: Robt. Montgomery. He has been pressuring Hambley for more funds, wants to take assistant along. Hambley will advise him no dice. (Lasky evidently painted glowing picture to Montgomery of valuable reporting and press relations services.)

14-00000

31 May 1950

MEMO: PDQUICK

Conversations with Mr. Carpenter (25 May) and with Mr. Richards (31 May) with reference to attendance at Cultural Congress of Mrs. Burnham:

Both Carpenter and Richards agree that Mrs. Burnham may travel to the Congress, at the invitation of the Congress, in her own right, drawing money from travel fund for that purpose, without consideration of Burnham's status vis-a-vis CIA. This on the theory that the travel is desirable because of services she may render to the Congress (not as a delegate necessarily) and because of the protection of Burnham's cover. The Congress, as ostensibly independent financially, would make any such arrangements without consideration of rules of CIA regarding travel of employees and agents.

L. C. Glaser

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: E III

NO. 5-24989

DATE 29 May

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. EE		24 May	29 May	MV	Already circulated
2. EE III X					the report.
3.					~~[illegible]~~
4.					~~[illegible]~~,
5.					MV
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

EC Finch

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

2? May 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Lindsay

SUBJECT : Report on May Day Counter-propaganda in the Soviet Sector of Berlin and the East Zone of Germany.

REFERENCE : Memorandum from Mr. Lindsay of 3 May, requesting special reports on successful operations for Mr. Wisner.

In compliance with your request of 3 May, I submit a report on May Day counter-propaganda in the Soviet Sector of Berlin and the East Zone of Germany.

John E. Baker

EIII/DR/mc
cc: O/C Regs(2)
EIII Chrono
EIII File

SECRET

14-00000

02.179

File PDQuick

23 May 1950

To: Colonel LOUIS GLASER

Subject: Information From Mr. MELVIN LASKY Concerning the Berlin Congress

1. I attach (a) a copy of the letter received from MELVIN LASKY, (b) a list which he prepared of the expected American delegates at the Congress, (c) together with three additions to the British list.

2. LASKY evidently means the American list to be definite as of this date. However, according to my information, at least two or three of the delegates whom he lists are still uncertain; for example, SIDNEY HOOK and DAVID LILIENTHAL.

3. The idea of a strong Soviet delegation, gathered from Western Germany seems to me excellent, and capable of major exploitation as we noted yesterday. However, it does not seem to require SHUB's presence in Germany.

4. I don't know exactly what arrangements LASKY has in mind for continuing the payments necessary to maintain the New York office. One sentence in this letter suggests that he plans to make payment from Berlin. This matter ought to be clarified immediately.

5. You will note in the LASKY letter the address and telephone number of the New York office.

KRH

02.179

Copy of letter from MELVIN LASKY dated 21 May 1950, New York City

"Dear Jim,

"I have just finished with the press conference here at Freedom House. I think Beichman managed a nice turn-out -- Hartrich of the Herald-Tribune, David Anderson of the Times, Henry Beckett of the Post, et.al. I won't be able to see the clippings tomorrow; doubtless much will be askew. But publicity won't hurt, and may do much much good. I have given Beichman two hundred dollars for now; another two hundred has already gone in phone calls, telegrams and the like. Spoke to Upton Sinclair again; can't come. Silone is writing the piece for the Times. Hook is doing an opening piece in the NL; with Levitas promising a nice spread. Beichman is writing letters, sending out releases. Pearl Kluger is working in the little office, hired out from George Field of Freedom House (20 West 40th Street, Tel: Chickering-4-3060). I have instructed him to consult you and refer all problems to you. I think he can do a most useful job with the press. I have done my best to keep all such expenses down, but in the end this job will be more important than the expensive presence of many of the delegates in Berlin. Do keep in touch with him until your departure.

"On the Russian matter, I think it would be an almost criminal waste of opportunities if there weren't the strongest possible Iron-Curtain delegation there on the platform in Berlin. Nicolaevsky and Shub have come up with the proposal to smoke out the professors, deans, scientists, poets now secluded in Western Germany; five or six of these worthies (Russians, Ukrainians, Asiatics) would indeed be a most appropriate bombshell. If they -- Nicolaevsky to give them Russian-political-confidence, Shub to give them American-diplomatic assurances -- could have a week together working out from Frankfurt and Munich ten days or so before the Congress begins, this might turn the trick. I think that's the way, and probably the only way to do it. God knows I won't be able to round them up. In any event, -- although I have been reluctant to raise the issue for fear that my motives might be misinterpreted -- I think that Shub's presence in Berlin would be of immeasurable value, handling the radio and Russian angles; and he's not considered there another "American outsider", which is important.

" On the book matter, it would be wonderful if we could go ahead with our project of book exhibitions of all works of Congress authors. I have asked Pearl Kluger -- she can be reached at the above number in Freedom House -- to go ahead with a limited amount of orders from the publishers. I trust there will be money to cover it; although some of the bills will go out to me in Berlin.

" I am leaving tonight for Westover Field. It was a big mistake not to get commercial air travel on my orders. No planes to London, none to Paris. First stop tomorrow -- Frankfurt! And there I turn around again. But then my contract calls for no breakdowns until the first of July. See you in the sanitorium at that time.

" Best regards to you and Marcia, and remember me to your children, who fascinated me.

"Yrs,

/s/MELVIN J. LASKY "

USA (Revised Listing)

Name	Coming From	Address
James Burnham, author	Washington	1327 33rd St., N.W.
Irving Brown, labor man	Paris	Brussels, Belgium
Sidney Hook, philosopher	Santa Barbara	New York University Un of Calif., Santa Barbara
Elliot Cohen, editor	NYC	Commentary Magazine, NY
Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.	Cambridge, Mass.	Department of History Harvard University
Robert Montgomery film & radio	NYC	NBC, 30 Rockefeller Pl. NY
S.M. Levitas, publisher	NYC	The New Leader, 7E.15th
Prof. Carl J. Friedrich	Heidelberg	Harvard University
James T. Farrell, novelist	Zurich/or Paris	...E.58th St. c/o American Express Par.
Prof. Franz L. Neumann historian	Berlin	Columbia University
George Grosz, artist	NYC	The Cottage, Hilaire Farm, Huntington, L.I.
Prof. G.A. Borgese	Chicago	University of Chicago
George Schuyler, Negro editor	NYC	270 Convent Avenue, NYC
Tennessee Williams, playwright	Paris	Hotel Sherry Netherland in NYC; c/o American
Carson McCullers, novelist	Paris	Express Company in Paris
Boris Nicolaevsky Russian historian	NYC	417 West 120th Street NYC
David Lilienthal, public figure	Paris	c/o Hotel Bellman Rue Francois I, Paris
Prof. George S. Counts educator	NYC	Columbia University Morningside, NYC

Additions:

From England:

Peter de Mendelsohn, novelist	London	c/o The New Statesman and Nation, London
Sebastian Hafner, editor	London	The Observer, a publicat. London, England
Prof. D.W. Brogan political scientist	London	Cambridge University England

14-00000

Copy of letter from Melvin J. Lasky, Tuesday a.m. (5-23-50)

"Tuesday a.m.
Westover Air Field

"Dear Jim:

"I spoke to Prof. GERMAN ARCINIEGAS last night. He is probably the best known South American literary critic - now at Columbia University (N.Y.C.). He has agreed to come - writing a paper on 'Literarian Ideals in South American Literature'. ROMWALDI of the AFL in Washington tells me he is very sound politically. ARCINIEGAS should be added to the list - giving us at least one non-North American.

"Best

/s/ MELVIN J. LASKY

"P.S.

"ARCINIEGAS is also having a little trouble with summer session committments. Could you ask BRUCE BUTTLES to have 'standard' State Dept. letter go out in ARCINIEGAS' behalf (release for about 10 days a la HOOK) to Prof. I. LEONARD, Romance Languages Dept., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.. "

23 May 1950

To: Colonel LOUIS GLASER

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KBH

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"Yrs,

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14-00000

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✓ Sidney Hook, philosopher	Santa Barbara	New York University Un of Calif., Santa Barbara
✓ Elliot Cohen, editor	NYC	Commentary Magazine, NY
✓ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.	Cambridge, Mass.	Department of History Harvard University
✓ Robert Montgomery film & radio	NYC	NBC, 30 Rockefeller Pl. NY
✓ S.M. Levitas, publisher	NYC	The New Leader, 7E.15th
Prof. Carl J. Friedrich	Heidelberg	Harvard University
James T. Farrell, novelist	Zurich/or Paris	...E.58th St. c/o American Express Par.
Prof. Franz L. Neumann historian	Berlin	Columbia University
George Grosz, artist	NYC	The Cottage, Hilaire Farm, Huntington, L.I.
✓ Prof. G.A. Borgese	Chicago	University of Chicago
George Schuyler, Negro editor	NYC	270 Convent Avenue, NYC
✓ Tennessee Williams, playwright	Paris	Hotel Sherry Netherland in NYC; c/o American Express Company in Paris
✓ Carson McCullers, novelist	Paris	
✓ Boris Nicolaevsky Russian historian	NYC	417 West 120th Street NYC
David Lilienthal, public figure	Paris	c/o Hotel Bellman Rue Francois I, Paris
✓ Prof. George S. Counts educator	NYC	Columbia University Morningside, NYC

Additions:

From England:

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✓ Sebastian Hafner, editor	London	The Observer, a publicat. London, England
Prof. D.W. Brogan political scientist	London	Cambridge University England

TOP SECRET

Secret

23 May 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Patrick J. Mc Feily

SUBJECT: Letter of Instructions.

1. Departure and Arrival

You will proceed on or about 24 May 1950 to Frankfurt, Germany, reporting by telephone upon your arrival to the Chief of the VIKiva Station. From Frankfurt you will proceed to Berlin in accordance with orders of Chief of Station. You will procure your own travel facilities and hotel accommodations at the cities in which you stay.

2. Cover

Your cover is that of a student and tourist visiting Europe to improve your language proficiency and for summer travel. Your general appearance and conduct at all times must be in keeping with this cover. You will not carry any classified material while traveling. You are not to recognize other employees of this agency unless arrangements have been made in advance or unless you can do so in full keeping with your cover. While in Germany you may be asked to volunteer to work on the staff of the Berlin Cultural Congress. Acceptance of such an offer by you is considered to be in keeping with your cover. Permission will be requested of Home Office for any type of duty required of you which would tend to break your student-tourist cover.

3. Duties and Responsibilities

You have been thoroughly briefed on projects PDQUICK and PJMAYBE, and you will undertake such operational activities in connection with these projects as fall within the instructions you receive from the Chief VIKiva Station. In carrying out these operational activities you will avoid drawing public attention to yourself to the maximum possible extent.

4. Security

You are specifically charged with both physical and operational security in connection with matters which you handle and for which you are given responsibility.

David W. Ragsdale

DAVID W. RAGSDALE

TOP SECRET

COPY 4 OF 4 COPIES

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SL[illegible]

DATE

TO: [illegible]

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Suggest discreetly query [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

FROM: [illegible]

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 38-8
SEP 1946

17 May 1950

Subject: Report on Distribution of Der Monat through an Exemplary Outlet

While in Berlin I acquired a copy of the report dated March 13, 1950. I do not know whether it has been made available. The information in it seems to me interesting in itself and valuable for what it suggests in terms of further activities.

KBH

13 March 1950

Report on Distribution of Der Monat through an Exemplary Outlet

1. This describes the distribution activities of a single outlet, with connections primarily but not exclusively to students in the Soviet Zone. Since December 1949 the outlet has been supplied 1115 single copies and several hundred separate articles. At first single issues were supplied in numbers of 100, but because of rapidly increasing demand was later increased to 150 copies. However, the popularity of Der Monat has spontaneously led to a broader range of possibilities and a total of at least 300 copies per issue has been requested. To provide a total of so many copies from number 8/9 to 16 inclusive will mean a further delivery of 1575 copies. A few copies of numbers 5, 6 & 7 have been delivered as well as stapled single copies of George Orwell's "Animal Farm" and other articles taken by breaking up these same issues. Distribution has been free of charge and this has been emphasized to the contacts. It has been decided, however, to permit contacts to ask a nominal East Mark price when distributing a copy to an employed person. This would help cover the travel expenses of contacts to and from Berlin.

2. Reactions to Der Monat delivery through this outlet has been overwhelmingly encouraging. Each copy is said to change hands "at least" eight or nine times and as many as twenty times is considered usual. The result is that Der Monat has become widely known among students in the Eastern Zone. It is reported that it is even read openly in the mess-halls; SED students procure it and read it, although when on their own they are said to be more secretive than the non-communist organized student. Certain articles have become widely known, particularly Orwell's "1984". An explanation of where the magazines come from is given in the following terms: they are bought for SOWZON students by the Free University. It is generally accepted in the Soviet Zone that the Free University is the source of "anti-communist student agitations" etc. Persons connected with the Free University who come in contact with East Zone students state that they are being continuously asked for copies of Der Monat, in the sense of "I've been getting it seventh hand; I'd like to get it first hand."

14-00000

3. Attention was continuously drawn to the popularity of
Orwell's "1984". Hence the outlet asks whether it would be possible
to make-up from broken numbers single stapled copies of "1984" -
recalling that this had been done for them in the case of "Animal
Farm" and other articles.

4. The outlet operates through an apparatus of couriers
to all universities of the Soviet Zone. Universities are supplied
by as many as four and an average of three different couriers,
unknown to one another. Leipzig, Halle, Jena, Greifswald, Dresden
and Rostock are thus covered. There are a large number of delivery
contacts at the Humboldt University. Also there are contacts
to the "Landes Hochschule" in Potsdam which is designed especially
for training SED functionaries, teachers, and key occupations.
Couriers from other academic institutions and circles are also
supplied, as well as to a number of non-academic circles of sig-
nificant strategic value, as described below.

5. The following examples are cited:

a) At a recent four-zonal meeting of evangelical student-
ministers from all zones fifteen copies were distributed to several
SZ delegates. More could not be furnished because of lack of
supplies at that time. The recepients subsequently expressed
such interest that regular delivery with a large number of copies
has been established. The Karl Jaspers article was considered
popular in this circle, and strong curiosity was expressed regarding
"1984" which was being discussed in the zone.

b) A professor of journalism at one Soviet-Zone university
approached a contact for two copies, promising to make good use
of them. He asked that they be supplied regularly and sent a
student from Leipzig to confirm this and pick them up. Both
students and professor were checked upon and the delivery made.

c) A group of liberal and social-democratic students organized
in the SED cooperate in a closed working-committee is recognized
by the university as an academic activity of the faculty to which
these students and professor belong. Monat articles are read
and discussed and then translated into non-German languages and
passed on as reading matter to trusted students in other sections
of the Philosophical faculty.

d) The CDU executive in a city in Saxony receives the
magazine, using it as discussion material regularly at closed
educational forums for training party functionaries. Three weeks
ago the article <u>Tito contra Stalin</u> was discussed.

e) Until recently a FDJ school for higher functionaries in Mecklenburg near the zonal border was supplied with copies of Der Monat which were read officially as the basis for working out counter-arguments. The connection was broken by the arrest of the courier, who was carrying Telegraf leaflets.

f) Twenty copies are regularly supplied for distribution to and through a Volkspolizei unit in Thuringia.

6. The outlet expresses great satisfaction with Monat distribution, considers it the ideal kind of reading for equiping oppositional students in the Soviet Zone with relatively safer and strategically suitable weapons, e.g. "ideas" and the "spirit of Europe". Der Monat is often contrasted with the Telegraf in this sense: Der Monat is not considered to exaggerate, is not the other pole, "with the truth somewhere between", but is respected and trusted for itself.

PDQUICK 15 May 1950

Notes of conference at the home of Mr. Burnham. Present: Messrs. Baker, Burnham, Lasky and Glaser.

1. Attention called to article in current issue of LIFE, mentioning the Cultural Congress in Berlin.

2. Memo from Stone states that JJ McCloy is not going to write special letter of invitation to Eleanor Roosevelt - apparently because of press release in which she stated she had changed her mind about attending. Lasky will take up with State the matter of special letters going to Roosevelt, Lilenthal and Conant, attempt persude them attend.

3. Some kind of pressure to be used to insure attendance Sidney Hook, possibly letter from Asst. Secy. of S. to Chancellor of U of C requesting leave of absence for 10 days.

4. Discussion of centralizing publicity releases from US. Lasky of opinion that Pitzele and Beichman would handle, requiring only small amount for expenses; decided to authorize this and Lasky will be given $200 to add to $200 which he already has (not having delivered same to Hook because Hook did not require it) with which he is sure he can lay proposition on.

5. Discussion of Am. Express technique of handling transportation. Agreed that interest of Foreign Service Ed. Foundation, FTUC and NY Com. should not be emphasized or revealed unless necessary.

6. Recital of steps being taken currently in Berlin.

7. List of delegates left with Burnham and Lasky in order that addresses may be filled in and returned. Will then be compared with list expected from Berlin. And final lists (up to this point) organized for delivery, through money sponsors, to Am. Express.

SECRET

A.

14-00000

Publicity,

Interpreters.

Delegates

Am. Ex. techniques

Ray M. / 2798
ff: 2034

Briefe (current)

Letter [illegible] from [illegible] — out

[illegible] for Hook? U of C To Chancellor

EB — State [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] — McC has requested

Discussion of Publicity releases from US

for PR — [illegible]

[illegible] for travel only of [illegible] asked

Trans

(Movies?)

Chin. [illegible] ([illegible]) Current

List [illegible] Burnham and [illegible] for [illegible]

4

14-00000

Aides Memoire for F.S.E.F. and N.Y. Com. respectively

MEMORANDUM

1. The American Express Company will be informed that the ~~School of Advanced International Studies~~ Foreign Service Educational Foundation will sponsor and pay for the travel to Berlin and return of a number of persons, the names of whom will be furnished at a later date to the American Express Company.

2. At the same time that this notification is given to the American Express Company, the sum of ten thousand dollars will be turned over to them from which travel expense may be taken.

3. The clearing house for this business with the American Express Company will be the office of Mr. Gerard J. Gilmore, Assistant Passenger Traffic Manager of the Travel Department, 65 Broadway, New York, N. Y. When the names of the persons who are sponsored are furnished to the American Express Company, all data will be forwarded to the office of Mr. Gilmore, though the persons may be located anywhere in the world. The Company will cable instructions to their branch offices.

4. The actual furnishing of transportation will be effected as follows:

a. The American Express Company will have the name and address of the person, furnished by you.

b. The person will be instructed to present himself at a specified office of the American Express Company and identify himself.

c. He then will be given his choice of transportation by rail or air, will be given the requisite documents, will be authorized to spend up to 10% of the cost of travel, for incidental expenses.

5. The American Express Company will furnish to you a list of all persons to whom such transportation and expense money actually is provided. In the unlikely event that more money is needed than is covered by your deposit of $10,000, arrangements will be made for you to deposit additional money with the American Express Company. Any unexpended funds left in the hands of the American Express Company will be returned to you at the time a final accounting is rendered.

6. Arrangements will be made with the American Express Company, in your name, by Mr. Martin K. Williams, of Kingston, Penna.

12 [illegible]
[illegible] check for
Transmitted by Williams to Gilmore
[illegible] to Gilmore [illegible]

May Program for the Congress:

1. Printing of 4-page program, with special 4-page French and English translated supplement.

2. Cover letter to all delegates who have accepted; enclosures of program; ask what discussions most interest them; what they would be prepared to give, a formal 20-30 minute paper; or shorter comment; but there will be both semi-formal and informal discussion, so that all would have chance to participate. Mention matter of Europa-Union meeting (see von Trotha) other meetings (Civil Liberties Committees), University lectures, etc.

3. Problem of approaching "key men" to take over papers for main discussion. Also: problem of collecting as many papers for printing, if not to be delivered at Congress. Messages.

4. Check with M.J. about progress in getting art-exhibition of Berlin masters into town for June.

5. Ordering of books for (a) Taberna book-stalls, (b) special book-store show-window exhibits during Congress week, (c) special collections in British-French-American information centers. Should include original French, German, Italian, etc. editions — plus as many translations of Silone, Koestler, Burnham, et.al. as can be gotten. Get Scandinavia through Copenhagen bookstore? Italian editions through Frankfurt International (Koch GmbH.). British volumes through Libris (this time not paid via Peter Hart). French through Frohnau or Maison-de-France. To be checked with Frau Marga Schoeller. Special problem of reduced rates to facilitate sales. Include books of Orwell (also Russian ed.).

6. The ordering of photos of all relevant personalities: News and Art-style.

7. Kubicek to whip up with books and photos some special book shows for stores, windows, Taberna, etc.

8. Arrangement to have a "court photographer" at the Congress; weekly fee, plus expense-payment for film costs. Also: cartoonist for sketches.

9. Color banners with "Kongress", also French-English, for Titania, Tabernica, and Sporthalle.

10. Problem of Printed Invitations. Also cards for the Press. Cards for Taberna guests. Preparation of Berlin Guest List — Key people for Titania Invitation, and special invites to Reger-Eberlein-Scholz-Lemmer-Montijo-Herz et.al.—crowd in town.

11. Preparation of political-historical introduction to post-war Berlin. Simple, non-propagandistic, somewhat factual, possibly illustrated. (After fashion of excellent Breslau-Polish material)

12. Publishing of Congress Program booklet, Index to Sponsors, delegates. Photographs. To be finished last fortnight before Congress.

13. Purchase of heavy folder-portfolio to hold Congress materials for all delegates. Purchase of notebook, with Congress named, etc.

14. Finishing up of Placard design for Berlin and Western Germany.

15. Setting up of finance and especially Travel Buro with Travel personnel for all Congress return-trips.

16. Checking to see whether Visa or Military Entry Permits are moving easily; possibly free issuance. Intervention when difficulties arise. Mention this in letter to all delegates.

17. Check with RIAS for complete tape coverage of Congress; sections to be given to other German and foreign-language stations.

18. Approach BBC for British coverage. See Patrick Smith.

19. Preparation of page for feuilleton pages — series of photographs of key people coming to Congress, plus sketches.

20. Stenographic account of all discussions.

21. Mimeograph staff — allied with translation group — for papers, resolutions, special messages. Office space.

22. Publicity material for all literary editors in Western Germany, Austria (send through Dr. Liebl), Switzerland, Italy, France, England. Preparation of list of leading dailies, weeklies. Hiring of a Publicity man.

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23. Check with Stadtrat May and Tietjen about "Fidelio" performance.

24. Check with Nikl's about the Steinplatz park.

25. Complete arrangements for Steinplatz and Am Zoo Hotel rooms.

26. M.J. and the question of "Security" at the Hotels and Taberna.

27. Contract for Titania on Monday afternoon, and the Sporthalle for public meetings.

28. Arrangements for City-Congress reception on Monday evening — most preferably on the Wannsee, at the Gästehaus.

29. Arrangement for a dozen taxis or so — hired for the week — with "motor pool dispatcher" — each cab marked "Kongress" — cutting down use of cruising cabs (security).

30. Bus arrangements (who as guides?) for tour of city on a free morning (Monday, Thursday), or other times — not into Soviet sector, but along border points, Brandenburger Tor, etc.

31. Collecting vague thoughts about place and character of final reception party. Congress, commandants? where (Lakeside? Pfaueninsel?)

32. Problem of Congress meals and Congress expenses for Delegates. Austrians (among others) are broke. Usual Congress custom of meals.

33. Completion of several Monat reprints for the Taberna book-stall and Congress material. Silone, Koestler, among others. Monat exhibition. Bound volumes? Order fifty more.

34. Ticket and Information Bureau — facilitate to theater performances, concerts, restaurants, and the like.

35. Arrangements about at least two good interpreters — one to be native in German language. Translators into French and English should be native-in-language; also checkers. Allied liaison.

36. Press Facilities arrangements: telephone, cable.

37. Check on improved Buffet at Taberna.

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM:	NO.
EAD	5-22911
	DATE 26 April

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. FBB		26 apr		[initials]	File
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14.					File: PD [illegible]
15.					[illegible]

FORM NO. 51.10
APR 1949

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25 April 1950

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: OPC Liaison with the Department of State

PARTICIPANTS: CPP, DS-II, Chief ABB, Chief FEB, and EAD

1. Mr. Frank stated that recent cables from the OPC representative in Germany concerning the Berlin rally in May and the Congress in June had raised policy questions which required State Department coordination. He stated that as a result of these cables he had requested Mr. Harrison to discuss these policy questions with Mr. Joyce and had requested Mr. Joyce to arrange for the necessary liaison with the Office of German Affairs.

2. Mr. Harrison stated that Mr. Joyce had arranged a meeting in his office where Mr. Batirbov and Mr. Baker of OPC had discussed these problems with Mr. Kellerman and Mr. Strauss of the Office of German Affairs, together with Mr. Schwinn. As a result of this meeting, the Office of German Affairs dispatched a State Department telegram to Hicog indicating that the Department was coordinating with CIA on a program designed to combat the effectiveness of the Berlin rally in May. This telegram received a wide distribution in Washington as well as in the headquarters of Hicog in Frankfurt.

3. Mr. Frank said that although he recognized the insecurity of the Office of German Affairs as evidenced by this telegram, he felt that it was essential for OPC to maintain liaison with the Office of German Affairs on policy matters. He proposed to recommend to Mr. Joyce that either Col. Byroade or Mr. Geoffrey Lewis be designated as the liaison officer for the Office of German Affairs to deal with OPC on policy matters subject to clearance in each instance with Mr. Joyce.

4. The undersigned agreed with Mr. Frank's proposal subject to the understanding that such liaison would be exercised under the existing policy laid down by ADPC, namely: that OPC liaison with the Department of State will be conducted only by ADPC, SADO, or CPP, and that if this authority is delegated it will only be done so when the individual authorized is satisfied that it is essential and can be controlled, and subject to the further understanding that such liaison will not involve operational details of OPC plans and operations.

C. V. H.

CVH/abf

cc: SADO
CPP
DS-II
Chief, FEB ✓
Chief, ABB

SECRET

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM:

CRDS

NO.

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE		OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
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FORM NO. 51.10
APR 1949

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26 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. THOMAS K. STRAUSS, PSD/OSS

SUBJECT: Slow-burning Fuse

1. It is requested that one crate of fifty units of slow-burning fuse be procured for OPC. This fuse is a Barium Selenium Oxide mixture, made up in a quarter-inch lead tube, with a burning time of 279 seconds per unit.

2. It is further requested that Mr. John H. Jeffries, Consultant, PDC/OPC, be authorized to purchase this fuse, for which he will be reimbursed. (The estimated cost of one crate will be $46.56.) Charges for this procurement should be made against Project SONGUND.

3. The above-mentioned fuse is to be delivered to CRDS on 27 April 1950 by Mr. Jeffries. After sufficient testing and formulation of instructions, CRDS will turn the fuse over to Mr. John Baker, FB-III, Operations Division, OPC.

L. R. DAILEY
Acting Chief
Research and Development

APPROVED:

John E. Baker

Chief of Operations

cc: FB-III ✓
COS

LRD/dr

SECRET

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TRANSMITTAL

4/27

DATE

TO: Mr. Richard Baker

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Let's discuss

FROM: C.D.

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1948

SECRET

April 24, 1950

Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom, June 26-30, 1950.

Professor Sidney Hook, Head, Department of Philosophy, New York University.

Mr. Bruce Buttles, CAI.

GER - Mr. Henry A. Byroade
S/P - Mr. Robert P. Joyce

The undersigned called upon Professor Hook at his home, 696-A Third Street, Brooklyn 15, N. Y., at 3:00 o'clock on April 22, 1950 to discuss domestic arrangements in support of the Congress, for which Professor Hook has been designated American representative. There were no other persons present.

Professor Hook opened the conversation by emphasizing the need to minimize the Government's interest in the Congress. He felt that it was essential to retain the appearance of a completely private venture. I assured him this was also the Department's view. Referring to the status of Melvin J. Lasky, secretary of the Congress in Berlin, as an employee of HICOG, Professor Hook then said he thought Mr. Lasky should be given a leave of absence in order to carry through the project in a private capacity. I promised to look into this problem, and commented that it could not be done readily without Mr. Lasky's cooperation. I also suggested that since Mr. Lasky to my knowledge was spending some of his personal funds on preparations for the Congress, it would only be fair to look for some other source of income for Mr. Lasky during such time as he might be on leave from Government service.

On continuing

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On continuing the discussion, it was clear that in working alone Professor Hook had as yet been unable to make any considerable progress on behalf of the Congress, and that there was urgent need for (a) a minimum staff to handle the program in this country and (b) a small allocation of funds to pay for telephone, stationery, publicity, etc. Until the present time, Professor Hook has been carrying the entire expense and work himself, and apparently has had to be extremely careful about such items as long distance telephone calls. For example, he felt he could afford to telephone Professor John Dewey in Florida and ask him to sponsor the Congress (which invitation Professor Dewey accepted,) but he hesitated to put out the larger funds to telephone Upton Sinclair in California. He would also like to call the Congress headquarters in Berlin, but felt that the transatlantic toll charge was quite beyond his means.

In reply to my query as to what sort of budget would be necessary, Professor Hook suggested that he would need a secretary-typist for two months and a public relations man on a part-time basis for the same period. He thought the secretary could be obtained for $250 a month and the publicity man for less than $500. In addition, $500 would be sufficient for such items as rental of typewriters, stationery, telephone calls, postage, etc. This would make a total budget of $2,000. The rental expense could be reduced, he thought, by using the offices of The New Leader, a Socialist publication of which he is one of the editors. He did not think it advisable to have a pretentious office, since obvious affluence would incite suspicion. The activity could be organized by Americans for Intellectual Freedom, of which he is the founder. This group staged the anti-Communist program in New York in March 1949 for less than $25.00.

As to the expenses of American representatives going to Berlin, Professor Hook hoped that it would not be necessary to use military transportation, since that would create the impression of Government sponsorship. He thought commercial transportation would definitely be preferable, and added that he would like to be in a position to give cash grants to the delegates of about $700, that is, the round-trip fare plus a few dollars over for incidentals. He felt it would be undesirable for too large an American representation to be sent. Probably six or seven people would be enough. This would mean a transportation budget of less than $5000.

Several times during the conversation, Professor Lasky stressed that it was not necessary to have a large sum of money. For what was needed, he said, the right people could hardly be paid; it was essential, he said, to have "dedicated personnel" who were willing if necessary to make personal sacrifices.

On the other hand, he thought it vital to have the right sort of publicity. The press arrangements should be carefully made. He hoped that someone in Washington could ask Mr. Henry Luce of Time and Life and Mr. A. H. Sulzberger of the New York Times to arrange the right sort of coverage, that is, by the right people, such as Anne O'Hare McCormick

of the

of the Times. He would like to invite Luce himself, but doubted if it would be politically desirable. At this point, I suggested inviting Mrs. Clare Booth Luce, and Professor Hook thought that might be the answer to his dilemma.

To handle the publicity Professor Hook thought he might hire Arnold Beichman (20 West 84th Street, New York), who is editor of a trade union paper in New York. Beichman handled press matters successfully for the anti-Communist demonstration last March. Professor Hook could make the first necessary arrangements himself, but would be glad to have any offer of assistance come to him through the offices of the New Leader, at 7 East 15th Street, New York 3. Telephone: SPring 7-8260.

I suggested that there was some indication that the Advertising Council might be able to find some space or other publicity assistance, and Professor Hook said he would be most grateful for that type of help. He hoped that the people concerned would approach him in the near future.

CER:GAI:BButtles:es

Y. 1 Jim Henry Luce Del. 8540 l

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14 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: SADO

SUBJECT: Congress for Cultural Freedom

One of the most pressing problems in connection with the proposed Intellectual Peace Congress to be held in Berlin is the matter of providing funds for transportation of delegates. We have conceived the possibility of two or three organizations overtly financing trips for cultural and intellectual leaders from various countries. The money thus provided might be deposited with the American Express Company with instructions to honor transportation requests from persons holding bona fide invitations to the Congress endorsed by one of the sponsoring organizations.

It is expected that there will be a total of approximately 60 delegates. At this date, the following persons have been invited:

England
- Bertrand Russell, Philosopher
- Julian Huxley, Biologist
- R.H.S. Crossman, M.P. and Author
- Victor Gollancz, Publisher
- Barbara Ward, Editor

France
- André Gide, Author
- Arthur Koestler, Author
- David Rousset, Editor

Germany
- Karl Jaspers, Philosopher
- Alfred Weber, Sociologist
- Carlo Schmid, Politician
- Eugen Kogon, Editor

Italy
- Benedetto Croce, Author and Politician
- Ignazio Silone, Novelist
- Carlo Levi, Author

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United States
    John Dewey, Philosopher
    Reinhold Niebuhr, Theologian and Publicist
    Sidney Hook, Philosopher and Writer

Also the following:

    Herbert Read
    Raymond Aron
    Remy Roure
    Hendryk Brugmans
    Frode Jakobsen
    David Williams
    Irving Brown
    Francois Bondy
    Edouard Roditi
    Norbert Muhlen
    Alexander Mitscherlich
    Dolf Sternberger
    William Phillips
    Franz Borkenau
    Peter de Mendelsohn
    David Rousset

J.D.B.

FBIII/IO/an
cc: OPC Reg (2)
    FBIII Chrono
    FBIII File

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ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM:	NO.
	DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1.					[illegible] Emmett [illegible]
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FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

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12 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Kenneth H. Hambley

SUBJECT: Letter of Instructions

1. Departure and Arrival

You will proceed on or about 13 April 1950 to Frankfurt, Germany, reporting upon your arrival there to the Chief of the VLKiva Mission through arrangements of which you have been advised orally. From Frankfurt you will proceed to Berlin in accordance with further arrangements of which the Chief of VLKiva German Mission will apprise you. En route to Frankfurt you are authorized to stop over, for a period not to exceed 4 days, in Paris if you deem such a step advisable in the furtherance of your mission. You will leave Berlin, Germany, on or about 7 May 1950 and return to the home station. En route to the home station you will be authorized to stop over at such other European cities, and for such amounts of time, as may subsequently be approved by the home office upon your recommendation. You will be responsible for procuring all of your own travel facilities and hotel accommodations at the cities in which you stay.

2. Cover

Your cover is that of a free-lance writer and lecturer visiting Europe to procure material for future publications. Your general appearance and conduct at all times must be in keeping with this cover. You will not carry any classified material with you while traveling. You are not to recognize other employees of this agency unless arrangements have been made in advance or unless you can do so in full keeping with your cover. You will not attract attention to yourself either by acts uncharacteristic of your cover or by the absence of actions consistent with your cover. While in Germany you may be asked to act for a period as a special consultant to the Office of the High Commissioner. Acceptance of such an appointment by you is considered to be in keeping with your cover. Within your cover you are authorized also to accept invitations to lecture on subjects not directly related to your primary mission.

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3. Duties and Responsibilities

a. Operational

You have been thoroughly briefed on projects SGHound and PDQuick, and you will undertake such operational activities in connection with these projects as fall within the instructions you receive from the Chief of the VLKiva Mission and his authorized representative. In carrying out these operational activities, you will avoid drawing public attention to yourself to the maximum possible extent, and you will in particular avoid, for the purposes of this trip, publicly associating yourself with project PDQuick. This injunction, however, will not prevent your meeting privately with any other individuals concerned with either the overt or covert phases of the project. You will, in addition, act as consultant to the Chief of the VLKiva Mission and his authorized representatives on such other matters as they may wish to bring to your attention.

4. Security

You are specifically charged with both physical and operational security in connection with matters which you handle and for which you are given responsibility.

David W. Ragsdale
DAVID W. RAGSDALE

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FROM: OPC Reg	NO. BNCF-30
	DATE 12 April 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. FBB		12 Apr			1 of 3 copies
2.					FIELD DISPATCH
3.					PLEASE EXPEDITE
4.					2 of 3 copies to: SADO ~~ABB/III-Benby~~ PB II
5.					3 of 3 copies to: COP Reg
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FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

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BNCP- 30

4 April 1950

SUBJECT: Congress for Cultural Freedom

TO: Jonathan S. Gearing

1. Berlin newspapers have recently carried a dpa announcement of a Congress for Cultural Freedom to be held during the last week of June 1950. The notices in DER TAGESSPIEGEL and DER TAG of 2 April and in DIE NEUE ZEITUNG and TELEGRAF of 4 April were all similar and brief - about one inch in length. DAS BERLINER STADTBLATT (Social Democrat) of 2 April, however, carried a large(2¼"x 7"), front-page article.

2. The dpa text of the former newspapers was generally as follows:

> A Congress for Cultural Freedom will be held in Berlin during the last week of June. The Berlin Committee which is preparing the Congress consists of Ernst Reuter, Lord Mayor of Berlin, Professor Edwin Redslob, Rector of the Berlin Free University, and Dr. Otto Suhr, Director of the Berlin Hochschule fuer Politik. Melvin J. Lasky, Editor of the international review DER MONAT, will act as General Secretary to the congress.

3. The article in the Berliner Stadblatt contains the information of the dpa release and adds the following:

> It is believed that a large number of prominent writers and men of learning will attend the Congress. Among others, the following men are expected to participate: Author Ignazio SILONE (Italy), Professors Julian HUXLEY (England) and Sidney HOOK (USA), Poet Arnulf OVERLAND (Norway) and Ture NERMAN (Sweden) as well as David ROUSSET and Arthur KOESTLER.

MATTHEW T. CHRISTIE

Dist:
cc: B.O. (3)
Bingham (1)

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FROM:

Staff II, [illegible]

NO.

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Jim Baker	2202			[illegible]	File
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FORM NO. 51.10
APR 1949

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11 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. BAKER

SUBJECT: PDQUICK and TPPIKER

1. I refer to the attached memorandum of 7 April 1950 addressed to you by Mr. Glaser.

2. I refer particularly to paragraph 4 sentence 2 of the above memorandum and to FRAN 117 paragraph 1, B.

3. My suggestion in this regard is as follows:

I suggest that we do not desire for PDQUICK a Rhino Circular to Embassies similar to the circular supporting QKIVORY, because a circular of that sort is not essential and would unnecessarily invite attention to the U. S. interest in PDQUICK.

4. A copy of the QKIVORY circular is attached for your information.

J. C. DENBY JCD

JCD/aef

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C O P Y

CONFIDENTIAL

CIRCULAR AIRGRAM
21 June 1949

TO: Certain American Diplomatic Officers

The Formation of National Committee for Free Europe, Inc., with headquarters in New York, was announced on June 1, 1949. This Committee is a private organization concerning itself with democratic leaders and scholars who are exiled from the following countries: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. The Committee will be financed by private contributions.

The following is quoted from a statement issued by Joseph C. Grew, Chairman of the Committee in announcing its formation:

"Our program begins with the tangible fact of the presence here of these exiles and refugees. There is an American tradition of hospitality to political refugees. The promise which we gave at Yalta remains unredeemed. More than that we have a definite self-interest in helping to keep alive, and in full vigor political leaders who share our view of life--leaders who have refused to knuckle under, men who have not hesitated to risk their lives for their democratic faith. As item No. 1 in our immediate program we propose--have in fact already begun--to find suitable occupations for these democratic exiles... We are setting out to find suitable positions for them in colleges and universities. We are proposing to ask others of them to prepare studies on topics for which they are especially equipped... At the same time we are encouraging each national group of exiles to draw together politically--all democratic elements, that is, those other than Fascists or Communists--in order to form in their temporary American haven National Committees which can stand as symbols of democratic hope for their countrymen in Eastern Europe.... We look forward to the day when there will no longer be an Iron Curtain....and these six nations which we helped liberate from the Nazi oppression will be free from the Communist oppression and once more can organize their existence in their own way. When that time comes there will be something close to social chaos and political vacuum, for the first effort of totalitarian regimes is to destroy all constructive elements which might build anything different from themselves. Looking forward to that historic and critical time we have in mind that, if meanwhile democratic leaders have been helped to keep alive and in vigor in the democratic havens to which they have been driven we can hope that, returning, they will have parts in a democratic reconstruction. Our second purpose will be to put the voices of these exiled political leaders on the air, addressed to their own peoples back in Europe, in their own languages, in the familiar tones. We shall help them also if we can to get their messages back by the printed word. . . Of course we are not going to compete with the Voice of America. We shall en-

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deavor to supplement the Voice of America, for the Voice is under restrictions by reason of its official character. It is our American habit not to leave everything to government. In the field of the contest of ideas there is much which private initiative can accomplish best. The third and final point in our immediate program is to set out at once to bring the exiled leaders into a broad contact with American life. . . Our idea is to enable these proven champions of democracy to see with their own eyes how freedom and democracy are working out in the United States . . . I have no doubt that as we go along other activities will be added to our program . . ."

Members of the Committee, as of 1 June 1949 were: Frank Altschul (Treasurer), Hamilton Fish Armstrong, A. A. Berle, Francis Biddle, Robert Woods Bliss, Hugh A. Drum, Allen W. Dulles, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Mark Ethridge, James A. Farley, William Green, Joseph C. Grew (Chairman), Charles R. Hook, Arthur Bliss Lane, Henry R. Luce, Arthur W. Page, DeWitt C. Poole (Executive Secretary), Charles M. Spofford, Charles P. Taft, DeWitt Wallace, Mathew Woll.

For your information, the Department has been continually informed of the process of formation of the Committee, although the Department has no active concern with the Committee's activities, it has given its unofficial approval to the Committee's objectives. Because of the implicitly political nature of the Committee's work, there will be coordination between it and the Department. We expect that the Committee will cooperate in every way toward the accomplishment of our objectives in Eastern Europe and of the general aims of our foreign policy.

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MINUTES OF MEETING

DATE : 7 April 1950

SUBJECT : PDQUICK and TPPIKER → [illegible]

PRESENT : Messrs. Glaser, Denby, Chester, Droller, Smith.

1. Discussion of arrangements made for departure and cover for James Burnham. Mr. Smith will handle details.

2. It was agreed that a recommendation be made to COP that two members of this committee, representing COP and CPP, respectively, be given authority to take emergency action on cables received out of normal hours of work requiring emergency handling; it being anticipated that such emergencies may arise in connection with projects TPPIKER and PDQUICK over any of the weekends between the present date and 1 June.

3. FRAN 113 (IN 21595) was considered in detail and all items in paragraph 1 and 2 were approved. With reference to item F of paragraph 2, project LCNORTH FRAN 111 (IN 21715), Mr. Denby assumed the responsibility for clearing this matter with the State Department through Mr. Offie, and if a favorable response is received, a cable of concurrence will be sent to the field.

With reference to paragraph 3, it was proposed by Mr. Droller that items A and B be combined. That is, that no scare be created with reference to bubonic plague or other serious diseases but that a campaign be instituted to the effect that the water of East Berlin is seriously contaminated and is causing dysentery, that warnings be issued and published in the press sympathetically urging the populace of East Berlin, including the FDJ participants, not to drink the water

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without boiling it, not to drink it under any circumstances except from paper cups, not to wash clothes in such water nor to bathe or shave with it and to take every precaution to protect themselves. Then proceed with item A and doctor the soup with a strong but harmless laxative which would not only serve a purpose in itself but would tend to bear out the rumor contained in item B.

The committee was not in favor of item D unless it could be justified more logically and did not understand the [illegible] of item C. Dispatch 57-CPC[illegible] was examined and read with much gratification. The lists of names are being compared with lists which have been gathered here and recommendations will be sent to the field

4. FRAN 117 (IN 21944) was examined and it was decided to refer item 1A to Mr. Baker to be taken up with Mr. Wisner as a recommendation beyond the competence of this committee to handle. Item 1B was referred to Mr. Denby for analysis and report. With reference to item 1C it is not understood why interpreters of this caliber will not be available in Berlin and cable will be sent to the field. With reference to paragraph 1 D, this was referred to Mr. Froller who will discuss it with Mr. Bryan for the [illegible] of specific suggestions; in this connection, the suggestion was offered by Mr. Froller that a [illegible] award should also be included.

L.G.

LC/nc

cc: Mr. Baker

7 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR : Mr. Dawson Smith

SUBJECT : Travel arrangements concerning Kenneth P. Hambley

1. In connection with PDQUICK and TPPIKER, it is now proposed that Hambley shall leave the U.S. on or about 17 April, proceed to Berlin, remain there approximately two weeks (rendering assistance in preparations for PIKER affair, also in preparations for QUICK) and shall then leave Berlin to return to the U.S. En route, on return, he will, if indicated by the course of affairs in Berlin, make calls on prominent people in Western Europe who are to be present at the PDQUICK meeting, in order to confirm their acceptances or induce them to accept if they have not already done so. He is expected to return to the U.S. approximately between 5 and 1? May. He is scheduled to return to Berlin sometime between 5 and 15 June to help in completing arrangements for QUICK including his own participation.

2. Arrangements in prospect:

a. Hambley will attend to renewal of passport and obtaining entry permit to Germany (as author interested in details concerning publication of his book in Germany.)

If there are delays in obtaining passport or entry permit, Carpenter will expedite.

If, for any reason, entry permit becomes impracticable from Washington, Hambley will go to Paris where, by cooperation with Carmel Offie, he will apply for entry permit to Germany which will be made immediately available.

b. Hambloy will go directly to Frankfurt where he will get in touch with de Neufville, and arrangements made to put him under HICOG cover as consultant to Der Monat. Lasky may be in Frankfurt at time - in any event Hambley will proceed to Berlin where Lasky will be his cover for contact with others in Berlin.

c. A covert travel order is being prepared which will authorize advance to Hambley of $1500. Hambley will buy his own transportation.

3. All

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3. All of these matters will have to be ironed out and coordinated. Routine matters will be in hands of Miss Johnson, FBIII. She will be in contact with Carpenter and will know all details concerning travel order, advance, entry permit, and passport, so far as necessary cooperation from Carpenter's office is concerned. Arrangements should be completed, if practicable, on Monday 10 April.

Louis Glaser

LG/mo

cc: Miss Johnson

14-00000

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
CLASSIFICATION
Secret
BY
ADPC
COP
CHANGED TO ... and ...
15 July 58

6 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: ADPC

VIA:

SUBJECT: OPC Plans for Counter-Action against the Deutschlandtreffen.

1. In compliance with your request, there is submitted herewith a report on OPC covert operations, in progress or under consideration, to counter the Communist-sponsored Free German Youth rally, (Deutschlandtreffen), scheduled for 27-28-29 May in Berlin.

2. The initial objective of OPC counter-action is to so harass, hinder and frustrate the Deutschlandtreffen that it cannot be used as a weapon to oust the Allied Powers from the Western Sectors of Berlin. If a substantial degree of success is achieved in that phase, major effort could then be directed toward instigating anti-communist demonstrations in the Soviet Sector, thus turning the rally entirely to Western advantage.

3. The OPC program for this event is designed to supplement and reinforce overt activities planned by occupation authorities to achieve the same objective. All OPC operations directed against the Deutschlandtreffen either have been or will be cleared with appropriate civilian and military officials, with whom high level liaison is maintained in the field.

4. A major criterion of OPC activities is that they not be directly attributable to the U.S. government. Hence they fall into two classes:

a. Those conducted by entirely clandestine means and not attributable to any actual source, and

b. Those attributable to indigenous individuals and groups, with official U.S. instigation or support concealed.

In view of the strongly pro-Western and anti-Soviet orientation of the Berlin population generally, the second type of activity offers exceptional opportunities to inspire, guide and covertly assist actual German resistance to the rally.

5. Activities

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5. Activities in various stages of planning or implementation by OPC include the following:

a. Propaganda:

Preparation of 750,000 anti-communist leaflets by the Kampfgruppe gegen Unmenschlichkeit, an indigenous German organization sponsored by OPC, to be distributed during the rally;

Staff preparation of at least two counter-rally pamphlets, to be distributed by clandestine networks into the Soviet Zone prior to the event;

Preparation by a controlled German attorney of indictments stressing illegal aspects of the rally, including the matter of parental responsibility for minors;

Instigation of letters of warning from West Berlin students to acquaintances in the Soviet Zone;

Planning for special editions of one or more West Berlin newspapers to be distributed free during the rally;

Subsidizing distribution of 150,000 extra copies of the magazine Freundschaft, organ of a West Berlin anti-communist youth group;

Consideration of publishing fake editions of Communist newspapers, containing propaganda of deception and confusion;

Preparation of a letter, addressed to Soviet Zone clergymen, asking them to use their influence to keep young people out of Berlin during the rally;

Inspiring West Berlin newspapers and the U.S.-licensed radio station, RIAS, to carry material favorable to U.S. aims before, during and after the rally.

b. Harassment and Deception:

Promotion of a rumor campaign to the effect that Communists are eager to have German young people killed and injured during the rally, to provide martyrs for the Moscow cause;

Promotion of another rumor campaign to the effect that Communists plan recruitment of rally participants for labor in Russia;

Circulation

[illegible] Copy #2 [illegible]

Circulation of a forged order, indicating that the rally actually is a device for recruitment of German youth into the Soviet Zone People's Police;

Planting a news story to the effect that the rally came about as the result of direct orders issued by Moscow to Walther Ulbricht, German Communist leader, on the occasion of his recent visit to the Russian capital;

Faking offers to provide billeting for rally participants in ruins, unsavory hotels or other undesirable space;

Consideration of disrupting transportation and other rally plans by issuance of false orders and proclamations;

Obtaining FDJ uniforms for possible use by agents of disruption;

c. Counter-Attractions:

Sponsorship by the Kampfgruppe of a fireworks display the evening of 29 May;

Covert guidance and encouragement of West Berlin merchants to prepare attractive displays of merchandise, illustrating the relatively high standards of Western living;

Covert sponsoring of free, or low-priced motion picture shows, featuring especially interesting films;

Covert sponsoring of sports events or other mass attractions, designed for the double purpose of maintaining West Berlin morale and distracting rally participants;

Approximately three weeks after the rally, covert sponsorship of a cultural and intellectual congress in Berlin—one of its objectives being to unmask the hypocrisy of communist intellectual appeals to youth.

d. Counter-Violence:

If, and only if, high policy considerations require, covert organization, support and guidance of pro-Western indigenous street-fighting units to meet a display of force with greater force.

6. In

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6. In addition to the foregoing plans, further opportunities unquestionably will arise for OPC direct activities or support to indigenous German groups with plans of their own to counteract the rally.

7. OPC is reinforcing its German staff with all available qualified personnel, and is prepared to set aside such sums of confidential funds as may be required to provide effective financial support for approved activities.

John H. Baker
FDB

SECRET Copy #2

SECRET

4 April 1950

REPORT

SUBJECT : TPPIKER

TO : John E. Baker, Chief, FEB

1. Background

a. The communist youth mass meeting planned for Berlin during the Whitsun holidays, 27, 28, and 29 May, has been and is the subject of a major propaganda offensive by the Russians and by German communists. It has followed the characteristic Soviet pattern of creating confusion and tenseness on the part of the propaganda targets achieving this objective by alternating belligerent threats with peaceful platitudes. The threats have ranged from declarations that the communist youth would drive the Western imperialists out of Berlin to outright statements that they would seize the Western Berlin government and restore the city to a unified, peaceful capital of Germany. The peaceful declarations have stated that the demonstration of 500,000 boys and girls (from all over Germany, and from other countries) will chiefly take place in Eastern Berlin and will consist of rally-marching, sports events, fireworks, and huge peace meetings. Permission was requested by the FDJ, of Oberburgermeister Reuter, to march in a body to the Olympic Stadium (in the British Sector) but Reuter briefly and emphatically refused.

b. Three groups are officially dealing with the situation.

(1) The Berlin Allied Kommandatura

(2) A committee under Oburgermeister Reuter

(3) A special HICOG committee.

These groups have coordinated their plans and accordingly reasonable precautions should be taken to protect vital installations in West Berlin. The police force has been augmented and provided with riot equipment.

c. It is now estimated that it is not the intention of the communists to make a serious effort to drive the Western occupying forces out of Berlin, or to seize the West city government. However, their campaign has succeeded to this extent, that it is not known whether or not they will attempt an actual putsch, or if they will adopt a policy of opportunism and probe-and-thrust at West Berlin defences with the determination to advance as far as they can; or if they will, in fact, confine themselves to meetings and demonstrations in East Berlin. The possibility exists that their demonstrations may get out of hand or go beyond the intention of the impressarios of the show. Whether or not they attempt a coup d'etat, they assuredly will press every propaganda advantage.

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d. The

d. The situation has been regarded as serious and potentially dangerous. Even as a propaganda triumph it might serve to strengthen communist drives all over Europe, especially in Germany, and if there was any manifest weakness or temporizing on the part of forces in West Berlin, the Deutschlandtreffen might serve as a springboard to huge gains.

2. Purpose of OPC plan

OPC operations against the Deutschlandtreffen are intended to oppose, harrass and attempt to turn to U.S. advantage the communist FDJ rally; also to render cooperation with other elements of resistance. To achieve this purpose, it is contemplated that a number of propaganda and psychological warfare activities will be utilized; it may also be necessary to provide specific support for resistance groups prepared to use physical violence to prevent FDJ demonstrations in West Berlin.

3. Plans

Since January, the German Mission, OPC, has been planning a counter-attack. On 31 January, a field dispatch outlined steps to be taken and this has been amplified considerably in the last two months. At the present time, plans to neutralize or defeat the psychological and physical attack of the communists, contemplate the following:

a. Clandestine propaganda, distributed throughout East Germany, in advance of the Deutschlandtreffen, intended to break down desire to participate and exposing the militaristic and totalitarian character of the affair. Included:

a pastoral letter, addressed to all clergymen in the East Zone, entreating that young people be kept out of Berlin during the FDJ rally, to prevent damage to their souls and bodies;

spreading of rumors that large masses of young Germans are to be rounded up and shipped elsewhere for forced labor, and that numbers of them will be killed (with the murders charged to the Americans) in order to create martyrs for the cause;

special editions of Berlin papers (distributed in East Germany) emphasizing the spectacle of Soviet Russia driving German youth into militarism.

b. Organized radio, press and other forms of publicity, during the Deutschlandtreffen, distributed throughout East Berlin and East Germany, featuring positive achievements of the West as contrasted to negative achievements of the East.

c. The staging of counter attractions, intended to reveal to large numbers of communist youth the better, unregimented life of

Western

Western Germany as exemplified in West Berlin. In connection with this campaign, the illumination of West Berlin shops with display of luxury merchandise, special theatrical and movie attractions, sports events, possibly an automobile show.

d. Neutralization of possible communist propaganda claims of abuse and martyrdom, by discounting claims in advance and ridiculing the purpose.

e. Preparation to support groups of street fighters organized to resist attempts on the part of the FDJ to seize or damage installations in West Berlin and to meet any demonstration of force with greater force - if high policy approves such defense operations.

f. A plan (subject of project PDQUICK) to hold, shortly after the Deutschlandtreffen, an Intellectual and Cultural Peace Congress in Berlin, bringing together a number of leaders of German, American, British, French, Russian, Czech, Italian, and other nationalities, representing high achievement and international reputation in fields of labor, philosophy, politics, literature, art, music, education, and science. The Congress, held on the borderline between free and slave Europe, will concern itself with denouncing and exposing the swindle of communist peace propaganda, will beam its message to the satellite states to the effect that only intellectual and cultural slavery is possible in the Soviet system. Arrangements will be effected for broadcasting and publicizing the meetings of the Congress and a large distribution of its deliberations throughout East Germany and satellite Europe. Arrangements also will be made for worldwide publicity and follow-up. It is expected that the Congress will be self-perpetuating and will hold further meetings.

4. Headquarters action

Following Mr. Lindsay's memorandum of 25 January and the field dispatch of 31 January, headquarters action with reference to the Deutschlandtreffen - and the Cultural Congress, as tied in - has taken the following course:

(a) A conference was held in FE-III on 7 February at which the basic idea of PDQUICK was approved by representatives of Staffs II and III, SADO, and PE-II. Based on this approval a cable of authorization was sent to field the same date.

(b) During February a committee was organized consisting of Messrs. Glaser (Chairman), Chester, Droller, and Denby, to act as an expediting and coordinating group. At this date, the committee has had two formal and a number of informal meetings. Members of the committee have also met twice with Dr. Hilger and four times with Mr. Burnham.

(c) Arrangements

(c) Arrangements were completed to send a 'task force' to the field, consisting of two senior propaganda consultants and four junior assistants. At this date one of the juniors is on duty in Berlin, three others are ready to depart this week; the two senior consultants are expected to be in Berlin during this month.

(d) Approval of initial propaganda operations, involving mailing of approximately 100,000 pieces to East Germany, was cabled.

(e) Various suggestions have been sent to the field, including recommendation that a complete documentary and photographic record be made.

(f) A dossier of information, with reference to the Deutschlandtreffen, has been collected, including record of a State Department conference (by teletype) and summary of plans approved by the Allied Kommandatura.

(g) A project has been prepared (SGHOUND) allotting $35,000 for emergency support of activities in connection with resistance to the Deutschlandtreffen.

(h) Discussions have been held, ideas formulated and support research accomplished, most of this material held in suspense awaiting reports from the field as to current and planned requirements.

Louis Glaser
FE-III

FBIII/LG/mc

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

DATE

TO: LG —

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Burnham has some solid views contra Reichstag promotion. Suggest you talk over with him. How is his hand coming?

FROM: JMP

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

1 April

May?

JEB: This idea sounded as though it might have mischief-making potentialities; I have discussed it with Shub and Droller.

The last time a group of Germans met before the Reichstag (which is 100 yards from the Soviet Sector of Berlin) was the 9th of September 1948 - the occasion on which Reuter make his ringing declaration of defiance of the Russians, and ALSO defied the Western Powers, saying: "You cannot buy us or sell us into slavery" by which he warned them not to make any deals with the Russians that would deliver Berlin to the communists. After that meeting, at which 23 were shot, one killed, the British Commandant denied the use of the Reichstag Platz for any future meetings. Gen. Bourne has changed his mind for the 1st of May, will permit a great anti-communist mass meeting (probably several hundred thousand people) which will again be addressed by Reuter. Anything can happen, because West Berlin police and West Allied troops will be on one side of the Brandenburg Thor facing East Berlin police and Russian troops on the other side. The 9th of September 1948 was historical, I have a hunch the 1st of April 1950 will be also.

Would that be a good time for Reuter to lay the foundation of establishment of the Reichstag as a 'House of European Peace?' If it is, a cable along the following lines might be sent:

1. APPRECIATE YOUR OPINION OF APPROACHING REUTER WITH REFERENCE MAY FIRST REICHSTAG MEETING WITH SUGGESTION HE INCORPORATE IN HIS REMARKS DECLARATION TO FOLLOWING EFFECT:

THIS BUILDING, SYMBOL OF FAILURE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, DESTROYED BY NAZIS IN CAMPAIGN TO IMPOSE POLITICAL AND MORAL SLAVERY ON WORLD, STANDS ON PRECISE BORDER OF TWO WORLDS, ONE FREE OTHER SLAVE. WE REDEDICATE BUILDING AS HOUSE OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM, SYMBOL OF OUR PURPOSE AND PURPOSE OF ALL LIBERTY LOVING PEOPLES OF EUROPE NEVER TO LAY DOWN ARMS IN STRUGGLE AGAINST DESPOTISM. WE INVITE ALL FREE MEN AND WOMEN TO JOIN IN OUR DECLARATION THAT PEACE AND FREEDOM SHALL NEVER PERISH, WE ESPECIALLY INCLUDE THE COMMON PEOPLE OF RUSSIA AND THOSE COUNTRIES UPON WHOM THE BITTER COMMUNIST YOKE HAS BEEN ~~THRUST~~ IMPOSED, WE KNOW IF THOSE PEOPLE COULD THROW OFF THE MERCILESS, FASCIST TYRANNY OF THE POLITBURO, THEY WOULD BE THE FIRST TO JOIN US. THIS BUILDING SHALL BE RESTORED, SHALL ARISE FROM ITS ASHES AS MONUMENT TO DETERMINATION OF FREE MEN THAT THEY

NEVER SHALL SUBMIT TO CHAINS OF POLITICAL SLAVERY. AS MEETING AFTER MEETING IS HELD HERE, THE VOICE OF FREE EUROPE SHALL BE HEARD IN SLAVE EUROPE. ONE DAY THE PEOPLE OF ALL EUROPE SHALL BE UNITED IN DECENT, HAPPY LIFE PLANNED FOR THEM BY THE GREAT REVOLUTIONISTS OF HISTORY, BY HEINE, GARIBALDI, MAZZINI, VOLTAIRE, DANTON, VERA FIGNER. FREEDOM BELONGS TO ALL MEN AND CONCERNS ALL MEN, IT BELONGS TO RUSSIANS, GERMANS, FRENCHMEN, CZECHS, POLES, IT IS ONE AND INDIVISIBLE.

2. obtaining complete coverage IN EAST GERMANY WILL GUARANTEE INFILTRATION INTO BORDERING SATELLITES. THESE CAN BE DEVELOPED IS OUR VIEW. ANXIOUS HAVE YOUR OPINION AND IF YOU AND REUTER THINK SOUND PROCEDURE ~~ALSO REUTERS~~.

21 March

JEB: Spent an hour and a half this morning at the home of James Burnham; present - Burnham, Denby, myself and Col. Lansdale from Chester's office.

COVER. Burnham says that the matter of his going over as attached in any way to McCloy was brought up because he wanted to have an opportunity to meet and talk with McCloy. In the meantime, McCloy came over here and Burnham saw him three times (we have one memorandum of conversation.) He added that cover has never been a serious point with him, that he has travelled a number of times in various parts of the world pursuing his profession as a writer and lecturer, furnishing his own cover. The last time he went to Germany he was attached as consultant to ISD. He is willing to go over without any cover at all, or as consultant to Der Monat, if that seems indicated. I told him I believed something like that was indicated as giving him a base of operation and rationalizing his contacts. Therefore, I shall prepare the memo. for Garland on the 'open' basis I had previously suggested but with Der Monat in mind.

TIMING. Burnham is disturbed at the prospect of going to Europe for as long as sixty days and is quite reluctant to consider a longer period. This brought up the entire matter of the Congress and its juxtaposition to the FDJ Deutschland Treffen. All of us evidenced some despair over the fact that obviously we cannot mastermind either project without further advices from the field which seem to have been suspended.

The question was raised as to whether or not the Congress actually could be held in June, considering the lateness of the present date. Burnham brought up for consideration the possibility of his going to Berlin about the first of May, or the last week in April, staying over the end of May, then returning to the United States - on the theory that the Congress might not be held until August or September. He proposed the 23rd of August (date of the Nazi-Russian pact) as an appropriate date. He then would start out again, presumably in the middle of August; in the meantime, he would establish contact with people in England, France and the US who might need pressure brought to bear upon them to attend the Congress.

If the Congress is to be held about the 20th of June, he suggests that he might go to Berlin about the middle of April, accomplish all he can in the way of advice as to the Deutschland Treffen, leave Berlin very early in May, travel through France and England back to the US, building up acceptances for the Congress, returning to Berlin on the 25th of May and staying over for the Congress.

CONSIDERATION OF REICHSTAG PROPOSAL. He does not favor the idea of proposing the Reichstag building as a symbol of European Freedom,

and thinks that the other European nations would shoer away from the whole concept. He says that even to Germans the wretched building is only a symbol of the failure and futility of the Weimar Republic.

LISTS. We again went over lists of proposed delegates.

BOLESLAW WIERZBIANSKI. This gentleman has been in Washington and will be here again, Burnham thinks he has been in touch with the New York Committee. He is head of the International Federation of Free Journalists of Eastern Europe and Baltic and Balkan Countries, headquarters: 10 Stanhope Place, London W2. According to Burnham the outfit represents 1200 journalists scattered over Western Europe, the USA, Australia and South America. They are said to be publishing 170 papers of varying degrees of importance. Burnham says that the services of the organization are being offered - presumably for propaganda use - and that their first objective is to establish a New York office, for operation and liaison, and that they need $42,000. Burnham thinks someone here should explore the potential usefulness of the group and I suggested that if they had been in contact with the NY Committee they probably were being explored.

LG

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SECRET

16 March 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: FCS

THROUGH: COP

SUBJECT: Gerard DROLLER

1. It is requested that arrangements be made with State Department for subject to depart for Berlin on or about 25 April 1950 as a WOC Consultant. This is a temporary duty assignment for thirty days plus air travel time.

2. Subject's application for Foreign Service employment is attached herewith in duplicate.

3. It would be appreciated if you would keep us advised of the progress of this action.

J.E.B.
FSB

Enc: FSS Appl.(2)

cc: OPC Reg (2)
PB-III Chrono
PB-III Subject

SECRET

March 8, 1950

REICHSTAG PROJECT

(To be broadcast over worldwide radio network in all languages in collaboration with Radio Free Europe, RIAS, the various European networks, BBC, CBS-NBC and the Voice of America).

I) Purpose

To re-assert the universal fight for freedom in simple dramatic terms which men everywhere will understand.

II) Occasion

The opening session of the Berlin cultural Freedom Congress, now scheduled for late June 1950.

III) Sponsor

The Congress. Its executive body should include spokesmen for all leading countries. Most specifically, it should include at least two outstanding Russians of world reputation and no minor ax to grind. The Russian nobel prize winning novelist Ivan Bunin (living in Paris, I believe), Igor Stravinsky, Serge Koussevitsky are names that suggest themselves. If the Congress itself includes a larger delegation from the leading European countries, then several Russian scholars and scientists now in U.S. or in DP camps should be included. All delegations, from countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain, should be made up entirely of men of unimpeachable moral stature and real reputation. Professional politicians, even when they're good democrats, should be restricted to the rock-bottom minimum and must be of the moral stature of Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin. Petty, self-seeking politics must be kept out. Would kill the whole show.

IV) GENERAL STAGING AND PRODUCTION TECHNIQUE

The general treatment will flow from the moral and political tone of the production. The two are inseparable.

Nothing in this show must be cute or clever. Sincerity and moral conviction must dominate the proceedings. From beginning to end, the whole Congress and the ceremony at the Reichstag must be treated as an organic whole: the rededication of a historic building to a House of European Freedom or House of Free Europe.

Why the Reichstag?

1. It stands on the precise frontier of two worlds, one

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free, the other slave. It is within a few feet of the Soviet flag on Brandenburg Gate and the warlike Soviet memorial within the British sector. It is the most dramatic spot for a visible answer to these two symbols of despotism and force that exists anywhere in the world. It is the only place to dedicate a palace of freedom which will be clearly visible to soldiers and officers of the Soviet army.

2. The Reichstag earned this rededication on September 9, 1948 when 300,000 Berliners flocked before its steps to defy the Kremlin during the grim days of the Berlin blockade.

3. It was set on fire by Hermann Goering and Josef Goebbels, who then presented the world Communist movement with undeserved martyrs and heroes in the person of Dimitrov and his co-defendants. Its rebirth as a meeting place for free men of all nations is a more than fitting historical answer to the Reichstag fire.

4. As long as the Reichstag stands in its present ruined condition it is a cancer feeding on the offended national pride of most Germans. This is particularly true because it is within sight of the strident Soviet war memorial. Even the best German democrat cannot pass this building without being mad at most of the world. In the normal course of events, the building would probably be restored for some narrow German purpose. By making it the House of European Freedom we kill several birds with one stone:

a) We give normal, healthy German and Berlin pride (as distinguished from its morbid, resentful and chauvinistic manifestations), a positive outlet. This is reeducation through dramatic action instead of Sunday school moralising which registers with nobody. All Berlin will be tremendously ---and healthfully---proud of itself on this day.

b) We strike a blow for freedom everywhere.

c) We deal an effective blow to resurgent German nationalism in Western Germany and in the Soviet zone, by making both its forms seem low, provincial, stupid, and bush league compared to the Reichstag rising like phoenix out of the ashes in the cause of European freedom.

d) We give West Berlin an enormous morale boost and forcefully remind them that (i) Berlin is a great metropolis (Weltstadt) and (ii) that it remains part of the free world---in fact one of the great bastions of that free world.

B) The Stage Sets

No attempt should be made to prettify the Reichstag for the ceremony. Reconstruction will proceed later, with pennies collected from people all over the world. (A top limit should be placed on contributions to prevent men of wealth and power from contributing more than simple plain folks everywhere).

At the unveiling, there should be temporary name plaques or plaster-cast ~~busts~~ bas-reliefs of the Great Men of Freedom who will adorn the building. Perhaps their names--done in big bold strokes

in the two leading alphabets of Europe (the Latin and Cyrillic)-- is enough for the opening ceremony. Two names and/or busts for each country will suffice. A great quote from each could go with it. Examples:

1. France: Voltaire (I disagree with everything you say but will defend to the death your right to say it-- words to that effect)
Danton

2. Germany: Goethe
Heine (There is a Heine quotation which Mayor Reuter (as the host of the Congress) could well use in his opening remarks. It would set the right tone for all that follows. Heine says somewhere that when the black-red-gold flag of 1848 becomes the flag of European freedom, he will gladly subscribe to it. I need not belabor the point. If the Germans can be sold on this approach, it is the most devastating answer to nationalism, to the resurgent neo-fascist groups who are now flying the black-white-red of Imperial Germany. Heine's words offer to the Germans their only chance of return to greatness which the non-German world can ever respect. (Note that the black-red-gold is the present flag of West German Republic)-- without, however, the freedom-loving European content that Heine wanted to give it.

3. Italy--- Garibaldi
Mazzini (?)

4. If we want to include the U.S. despite the fact that this is house of European freedom, there are two great names that will sell without causing any negative reaction anywhere.

a) Jefferson (The most effective answer to the Communist charge that we are reactionaries are his words on the revolutionary right to overthrow a bad regime. I see no reason why the dictators of the Kremlin and the NKVD should steal the revolution from the men of Lexington and Concord, Valley Forge and the Declaration of Independence. The fact that a few lost souls in this country are afraid of Jefferson's great words, is also no reason not to use them.

b) Lincoln.

5. Russia: The Decembrists. These are the men who returned to Russia from the Napoleonic wars imbued with western ideas and attempted to challenge the Tsarist autocracy with a revolutionary democratic program. They were hanged in 1825. A famous plaque showing the profiles of the five leaders has been reproduced very widely in the Soviet Union and is known to practically every Russian school child. In fact, the Russians know everything about these men, except the ideas and ideals they represented. These have been carefully suppressed or rendered false through Soviet Newspeak. For the Reichstag unveiling, I'd have this plaque reproduced--large enough to be seen across the street in the Soviet sector. It should face the Soviet side of the street and have the word "DECEMBRISTS" in the Russian language as well as English, German, French.

5. Russia (continued)

Vera Figner: A great Russian revolutionary and a militant fighter for freedom. Also a woman of extraordinary beauty and moral integrity. She was known in the Tsarist fortress prison where she spent most of her life, as the "Madonna of the Schluesselburg."

When President Garfield was assassinated, Vera Figner and her prison comrades addressed an open letter of sympathy to the American people in which they condemned this act of terrorism. They said that the use of terror against the elected representative of the people was just as immoral and wrong as absolutism's use of terror against the Russian people. They explained that they were forced--against their will--to combat despotism with force, but intended to discontinue its use as soon as a representative democratic government existed in Russia.

Vera Figner lived to be liberated by the democratic revolution of March 1917. She delivered a great speech in a Petrograd theatre on the meaning of freedom, shortly after the fall of the Tsar. Because of her age and exceptional moral prestige in Russia, the Soviet government let her die in peace. ~~although~~ Her name stands for all the noble ideals that the Soviet dictators seek to eradicate from the Russian conscience and consciousness. Yet her name as such---robbed of its moral content--is known to most Soviet Russians. Soviet textbooks never speak badly of her---nor do they tell her great story. Here is an opportunity to restore her name to the Russians --alongside of the Decembrists. Would be difficult indeed to find a better symbol to stand together with such names as Danton, Jefferson, Garibaldi, Heine.

This is not dramatic corn; it is psychological warfare with atomic power. By restoring Vera Figner to the Russians, from the steps of the House of ~~Eastern~~ European Freedom in Berlin, we start the chain reaction. Whether this becomes an atomic explosion of test-tube or ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ of operative intensity, depends on how much is done ~~on other fronts~~ to win the Russian people. But clearly here's a way of reaching them ~~within~~ (and the "them" includes high officers of the Soviet army and officials ~~xxxxxxx~~ of the Soviet government as well as the rank-and-file) through a POSITIVE APPROACH to which they are acutely susceptible after over 30 years of spiritual and moral starvation.

~~xx~~

C) ACCOMPANYING MUSIC, THEATRE, ETC

1. Music for the Congress should be of two general categories (a) a special concert by the Berlin Philharmonic, if possible with an outstanding ~~internally~~ conductor. The ideal would be Arturo Toscanini (he practically spit in Mussolini's eye). If Toscanini is not available, the next best would be Serge Koussevitsky or ~~xxx~~ Igor Stravinsky. The reason is obvious. I think that of the German conductors, only Bruno Walter would be right for our broader moral purposes. To use Furtwaengler would be a mistake. If we did, we'd no longer be on the side of the angels. I think the Beethoven Ninth with its closing hymn on the Brotherhood of man (~~xxx~~ Schiller's Ode to Joy) is just right. Could be preceded by the Prometheus or Egmont Overtures, both of which are perfect in political content--and are exciting music to European ears as well. This concert could be given in a hall, broadcast and then portions of the tape recording could be used again at the Reichstag. The concert should precede the Reichstag ceremony.

b) More popular stuff, including the stirring folk songs and

revolutionary music which neither Communism nor Nazism have polluted (e.g. the Marseillaise, Serbian chetnik songs, Brüder zur Sonne zur Freiheit, whose Russian version was sung by generations of revolutionists and illegal words of which are still xxxxxxxxx disseminated today among Soviet troops--I've seen an actual leaflet). These songs need not be in the least provocative or an incitement to anything—except to a deep feeling that freedom is one and indivisible. These songs can be recorded in RIAS or xxxx Free Europe studios well in advance of meeting, and can be piped over loudspeakers at Reichstag meeting, with the crowds joining in. This technique was successfully used with the xxxxxxxxx last of the abovementioned songs at the Reich tag rally of September 9, 1948. It is very simple and effective. Radio listeners get the impression that several hundred thousand people are singing, if the acoustics are handled right. No songs should be used to which exception can be taken on the ground that it is aimed against any particular existing regime. There is no reason to do so. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx The good old stuff applies by implication— and it is an implication which the adversary xxxxxx cannot admit. Can only shut its ears. xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

The rightxxxxx use of music at the Reichstag is essential to the success of the whole. It is a vital part of the over-all production. Its importance for broadcasting purposes can scarcely be overestimated. Gives the whole show the lift and the universal lilt that is needed.

V) THE POLITICAL LINE

1. Freedom is one an d indivisible. It concerns all men everywhere. EVERYBODY DESERVES IT. THERE ARE NO CHOSEN PEOPLES, NATIONS OR CONTINENTS. THERE IS ONLY MAN.

2. This is NOT Europe defying Russia. On the contrary, it is Europe reaching out north, south, east and west to all its children, including the Russians, and summoning them in the great crusade which must go on until all are free. xxxxx If the Soviet rulers want to turn their backs on Europe, that's their business. The cxxxxxx Freedom Congress and Mayor Reuter of Berlin will assume that the Russians want very much to be x part and parcel of Free Europe. This is the only approach which divides the Politburo not only from the common people, but from a decisive segment of the upper party, intellectual and army command of Russia. x

3. xxxxxxxxxxxxxx Free Europe Versus Slave Russia is the sure road to World War III. *Let's stay away from this at all times*

4. Free Europe, including the Russians, versus the Politburo and the Cominform, is the only way to make the Burnham thesis work---or at least give it a fighting chance. xxxxxxxxxxxxx It is at last worth a good test run from the Reichstag steps in connection with xxxx this project. Involves no risk, except the use of a little imagination, and its cost is very slight indeed.

VI) SECURITY AND SURPRISE

xxxxxxxxxxxx Most of the impact will be lost if the approach leaks out xxxxx through press conferences or other channels. There should be no press conferences until the actual curtain goes up in Berlin. In no event should the Russians be tipped off as to the approach. Let them

assume that the Congress intends to conduct a Europe versus Soviet Union Congress. ~~Xxxxxxxxxxx~~ Let them gear their propaganda accordingly, fill their broadcasts, etc with vituperation aimed at the wrong targets That will make this show doubly effective. Therefore, the working details should be made known to as few people as possible.

The National Committee for Free Europe should assist in all technical preparations, furnish the necessary language announcers for broadcasts of the proceedings in the appropriate languages. ~~Xxxxxxxxxx~~ But it is essential that the contents remain secret until the show goes on the air. This is not only security in the ordinary sense; it is also a matter of delivering the blow with maximum effect.

2. Adequate U.S. guards should be posted at all ~~xxxxx~~ broadcasting and transmitter facilities in Berlin. I am thinking particularly of the transmitter in the Brits section of Berlin, which is far too close to the Soviet line for comfort. While I am convinced that the Russians would make no attempt to ~~xxx~~ start a disturbance at the Reichstag (if we make normal security precautions), I think they may well attempt to sabotage some of the radio installations. I would not trust any except proper American and/or British public safety officers and guards to protect these.

Alternate transmitting and broadcasting units should be held in readiness in case of sabotage against Brits installations or elsewhere. I believe RIAS has two transmitters, but I dont know whether they are both in Brits or not. ~~Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

3. The number of persons at the Berlin end to be informed of the project should be kept as small as possible and ~~xxxxx~~ transmitted at last possible date consistent with an effective production job. Everything which can be recorded at the New York end should be taken along o n ~~xxxxxxx~~ unbreakable platters and put on German tape ~~xxxx~~ at the Berlin end when operation is in final phase. This is a simple matter. ~~Xxxxxx~~ It ~~xxxx~~ is done regularly with VOA transcriptions sent to Germany.

4. No one in RIAS ~~need~~ should know of this operation until final preparatory stage.

5. All policy considerations must be cleared in such fashion as to prevent any form of bureaucratic sabotage ~~xxxxxxx~~ or buck-passing at the Berlin end of the operation.

6. One American, thoroughly familiar with the aims, large and small, of this project, should maintain close personal liaison with Mayor Ernst Reuter of Berlin. That ~~he~~ Reuter is in agreement with the general aims and objectives formulated above---and that he is precisely the man to present these aims in terms which all Berliners, decent Germans, and the rest of the world will understand and admire, I know is the case. He is the perfect host and master of ceremonies. He speaks German, English, French, Russian, Turkish ---and believes that freedom is indivisible.

Please excuse excess wordage. ~~Xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

Boris Shub

ADDENDUM: AFTER THE CONGRESS IS OVER

On pp. 1-6 supra, I indicated the general lines that would make the Reichstag dedication as a House of European Freedom effective. This ceremony, together with the other events of the ~~xxxx~~ Berlin cultural Congress of June 1950, will be broadcast--as indicated supra--over a world-wide network. That is the dramatic spectacle where everything worth saying on the subject of freedom and the dignity of man will be compressed into a few good days. (Another event ~~xxxxx~~ during Congress week could be a special performance of Buechner's play Dantons Tod at the Hebbel Theatre. If possible get Vladimir Sokoloff from Hollywood for the Robespierre role. He did it for Max Reinhardt. I trust he's still alive). Assuming that the show is a success, that only discharges half the mission. The other half is to gradually build up the Reichstag structure, stone by stone, in line with the political and moral ideals indicated above. The Reichstag as House of European Freedom:

THE HOUSE OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM (or Free Europe).

1. The general spirit has already been indicated above. The great names and words should be presented in simple dramatic terms, designed by an artist with the talent and moral fibre to understand what this is all about. The aesthetic problem is a rather tricky one. The Reichstag is hardly the most beautiful structure in the world, yet it would be a mistake to depart from ~~xx~~ its basic style in the course of reconstruction. To reconcile these two problems--the greatness of simplicity, with the stuffiness of the existing structure, is a problem for some contemporary Michelangelo or a pint-sized version of same, to solve. It can be done.

The exterior should not contain more than a dozen or so names of the calibre indicated on pp 2-4 supra(Jefferson, Danton, Voltaire, Vera Figner, Garibaldi). But we should never lose sight of one objective without which the rest is largely wasted effort: the Russians. If we leave them out, the whole thing is a boomerang and nothing more, which will ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ furnish grist for the anti-American, anti-western propaganda mill. It is also essential that the Russian names and busts or bas reliefs face the Russian side of the city --where the Russians can gaze on them with wonder and admiration--and go home to think about the meaning of things in the present world.

Inside the building, there could be an international hall of fame--in the same spirit --selected by peoples throughout the world. Here we could have the great scientists, writers, philosophers, etc of Europe and perhaps the rest of the world, placed in simple niches. The busts should avoid the hollow heroic style that the Nazis and Soviets perfected. ~~Xx~~ They should be in exactly the opposite spirit, presenting the great as they were-- human beings with all the weaknesses and contradictions of the human race. ~~Naturally~~ The sculptors or sculptors for this job should be selected by an international board, including French, German, Russian, Italian, etc experts who are fully cognizant of the spirit of the thing

2. ~~Xxxxxxx~~ Contributions should come from people all over the world, with the emphasis on pennies not dollars. The longer it takes to complete the job--within limits of course--the better for political purposes. Enough if one segment is finished ~~xxxx~~ fairly soon, with an auditorium ~~xx~~ and/or exhibition hall. The prolonged fund-raising drive will supply Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, BBC and lots of other agencies with a steady flow of good, positive copy with the theme

of freedom running through it all the time. Contributions coming from DPs individually, and from special fund-raising events in DP camps, would have an obvious dramatic value.

3. As the structure begins to become usable, it should feature all the type activities that make Europe and European civilization worth saving. The emphasis should be on things of lasting value rather than refrigerators, Coca Cola and such. In other words, the best in European films--whether these be French, German, Italian, etc. Some of the old Soviet films, since withdrawn from circulation because they dont fit the line, should also be shown. The best (repeat best) in American pictures could also be shown. By best is meant that which Europeans would respect for its artisitc or spiritual content, not those which make the most money--they can be seen elsewhere in Berlin.

Exhibitions of painting, lectures on current trends in literature, lectures in political science, history and contemporary politics, by outstanding artists, scholars, etc., should be part of the feature of the House of European Freedom, insofar as possible. The building should house a library, and even if it isnt very large, it should include the Great Books in the leading languages, as well as current periodicals, etc to keep the intellectuals of Berlin--and any other callers--on their toes. There is no such library in Berlin today.

Symposia, Town-Hall-Meeting of the Air, etc events could also be held here from time to time. The important thing is to keep the building, its reconstruction, and the events it presents, as close to the spirit of the opening ceremonies as possible.

4. All of the above is far simpler than it sounds. Europeans love to be given such projects. And I rather suspect that Americans would take to it too, if the broadcast account of the Congress proceedings properly presents the issue to them.

B.C.

14-00000

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Baker

DATE: 2 March 1950

FROM : JE

SUBJECT: Clearance status - Melvin J. Lasky

1. Regarding Provisional Clearance - Mr. Garland has informed me that the CIA indices check has revealed derogatory information (in part the derogatory information concerns the fact that OSS would not utilize services of subject). Mr. Garland stated Provisional Clearance would be considered only if there is a written statement concerning status of employment, that is: exactly how subject will be utilized, will Gov't or CIA interest be shown, with whom will he be working and will that person be under cover?

2. Regarding Operational Clearance - Mr. Garland advised that investigation of subject cannot be initiated at least for another month as subject is currently being investigated by FBI for Voice of America.

SECRET

8 February 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: SEC

THROUGH : COP, CSE

SUBJECT : Melvin J. LASKY

1. It is requested that a provisional security clearance be initiated for subject individual whom it is proposed to employ in Germany on a one-time operation involving his arranging for and participation in a public demonstration in Berlin. He will not have access to classified information.

2. LASKY is editor of Der Monat, a U. S. sponsored German-language intellectual monthly published in Berlin. When additional background information is available, it will be forwarded to your office in order that full operational security clearance may be secured.

J.E.B.
FBIII

FBIII/JEB/mo
cc: OPC Reg (2)
FBIII Chrono
Subject File

PHS given to SEC - 11 Feb 50 interim provisional clearance.

SECRET

U.S. CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

APPLICATION FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT

Form approved Budget Bureau No. 50-R046.

1. Name of examination or kind of position applied for.

2. Optional subject (if mentioned in examination announcement).

3. Place of employment applied for.

4. Mr. Mrs. Miss (First name) (Middle) (Last name): Melvin J. Lasky

5. Street and number or R. D. number: US Press Center, BNP

City or post office (including postal zone), and State: APO 742

6. Legal or voting residence (State): New York

7. Office phone No. / Home phone:

8. Place of birth (city and State, if born outside U. S., name city and country): New York City

9. Date of birth (month, day, year): 15 Jan 1920

10. Age last birthday: 30

11. [X] Male [ ] Female

12. [ ] Married [X] Single

13. Height without shoes: 5 feet 8 inches. Weight: 170 pounds

14. Have you ever been employed by the Federal Government? [X] Yes [ ] No

If now employed by the Federal Government, give present grade and date of last change in grade:

APPLICATION No. / SELECTION No.

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS BLOCK
For Use of Civil Service Commission Only

[ ] Accept [ ] Submitted [ ] Returned

Entered register:

Notations: / App. Review: / Approved:

OPTION	GRADE	EARNED RATING	PREFERENCE	AUGM. RATING
			[ ] 5 points (tent.)	
			[ ] 10 points	
			[ ] Wife or Widow	
			[ ] Disal.	
			[ ] Being investigated	
INITIALS AND DATE				

Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column	YES	NO
15. (a) Would you accept short-term appointment, if offered, for— 1 to 3 months?		
3 to 6 months?		
6 to 12 months?	X	
(b) Would you accept appointment, if offered— in Washington, D. C.?	X	
anywhere in the United States?	X	
outside the United States?	X	

15. (c) If you will accept appointment in certain locations ONLY, give acceptable locations:

(d) What is the lowest entrance salary you will accept: $ 8000 per year.

You will not be considered for positions paying less.

(e) If you are willing to travel, specify: [X] Occasionally [X] Frequently [ ] Constantly

16. EXPERIENCE.—You are requested to furnish all information asked for below in sufficient detail to enable the Civil Service Commission and the appointing officers of agencies to determine your qualifications for the position for which you are applying. In the space provided below describe EVERY position you have held. Use a separate block for EACH position. You may also include any pertinent religious, civic, welfare or organizational activity which you have performed, either with or without compensation, showing the number of hours per week and weeks per year in which you were engaged in such activity. Start with your PRESENT position and work back, accounting for all periods of unemployment. Explain clearly the principal tasks which you performed in each position. Describe your experience in the Armed Services in question 17 (Military Experience).
(a) If you were ever employed in any position under a name different from that shown in Item 4 of this application, give under "Description of your work" for each position, the name used.
(b) If you have never been employed or are now unemployed, indicate that fact in the space provided below for "Present Position."

PRESENT POSITION

Dates of employment (Month, year): From: 1948 To present time

Exact title of your present position: Information Specialist

Salary or earnings: Starting, $8000 per An; Present, $ per

Place of employment (city and State): Berlin, US Sector

Description of your work: Edit and publish a monthly political and cultural magazine (in the German language which is distributed for sale in Germany and Austria and neighboring countries

Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: Dept of Army/ State Dept

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.): US Information

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 10 German Editors

Name and title of immediate supervisor: Alfred V. Boerner Deputy

Reason for desiring to change employment:

(CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE)

18. CONTINUED

Dates of employment (Month, year): From 1947 To 1948

Place of employment (city and State): Berlin, Germany

Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: Newsleader Publ Assoc.

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.): Newspaper

Number and kind of employees supervised by you:

S.N. Levitas, Publisher

Name and title of immediate supervisor:

Reason for leaving: Another offer

Exact title of your position: Foreign Correspondent

Salary or earnings: Starting $ 5000 per; Final $ per

Description of your work: Regular European dispatches on political situations for publication for news weekly.

Dates of employment (Month, year): From 1943 To 1946

Place of employment (city and State): E/I, ETO

Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: US Army

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.):

Number and kind of employees supervised by you:

Name and title of immediate supervisor:

Reason for leaving: Honorable Discharge

Exact title of your position:

Salary or earnings: Starting $ per; Final $ per

Description of your work: Enlisted man 1943-1944
Officer, Military Intelligence, Historical Division (1944-1946
Active duty, France and Germany

Dates of employment (Month, year): From 1941 To

Place of employment (city and State): New York City

Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: New Leader Publ. Assoc

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.): Newspaper

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: 3 Asst. Editors

Name and title of immediate supervisor: S.N. Levitas

Reason for leaving: US Army

Exact title of your position: Assistant Editor

Salary or earnings: Starting $2500 per; Final $3000 per

Description of your work: Edited manuscrips, wrote articles for the weekly news-political magazine.

Dates of employment (Month, year): From 1940 To 1941

Place of employment (city and State): New York City

Name and address of employer (firm, organization, or person). If Federal, name department, bureau or establishment, and division: Dept. of Interior Nat'l Pk Serv.

Kind of business or organization (e. g., wholesale silk, insurance agency, mfg. of locks, etc.): Federal Monuments

Number and kind of employees supervised by you: --

Name and title of immediate supervisor: Geo. Palmer, Superintendent

Reason for leaving: Newspaper offer

Exact title of your position: Historian

Salary or earnings: Starting $1500 per; Final $2000 per

Description of your work: Historical research into American past. Lectures on American History.

If more space is required, use a continuation sheet (Standard Form No. 57) or a sheet of paper the same size as this page. Write on each sheet your name, address, date of birth, and examination title. Attach to inside of this application.

17. MILITARY EXPERIENCE — In order to make the most effective placements of our veterans, detailed information is needed about the training and experience they have acquired in the Armed Services. [illegible] If you attended no special or technical schools while in the service, write in Item (a) "No attendance at service schools" and indicate in Item (c) all important changes in duty assignment, showing dates of each assignment.

(a) First special service school attended:

OCS

Location:

Camp Lee, Virginia

Dates attended (months, years):

From June 1944 To Oct 1944

Rating received at end of this training:

2nd Lt. Aus

(c) Duty assignment (or rating) after this training (give all important changes in duty assignment whether or not you attended a Service School):

Dates of duty assignment (months, years):

From: To:

(b) What were you taught in first Special Service School?

Officers Training

(d) What did you do during this duty assignment?

Military Intelligence, Washington, D.C.
Historical Division, France, Germany

(a) Second special service school attended:

Location:

Dates attended (months, years):

From: To:

Rating received at end of this training:

(c) Duty assignment after this training:

Dates of duty assignment (months, years):

From: To:

(b) What were you taught in Second Special Service School?

(d) What did you do during this duty assignment?

List on a separate sheet of paper any additional experience, training, service, or special duty assignments during military service or hospitalization.

18. EDUCATION — Circle highest grade completed: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 (12)

Mark (x) the appropriate box to indicate satisfactory completion of:

☐ Elementary School ☐ Junior High School ☒ Senior High School

(a) Give name and location of last high school attended:

DeWitt Clinton H.S. New York City

(b) Subjects studied in high school which apply to position desired:

General

(c) Name and Location of College or University	Major	Dates Attended		Years Completed		Degrees Conferred		Semester Hours Credit
				Day	Night			
City Coll. NYC	Hist	~~1935~~	1939	[illegible]		B.S.S.	1939	120
Univ. of Mich	"	1939	1940	1		M.A.	1940	30
Columbia Univ.		1940	1942			Grad cr		30

(d) List Your Chief Undergraduate College Subjects	Semester Hours	List Your Chief Graduate College Subjects	Semester Hours
US & European His	40	US and European Hist	25
Literature	25	Literature	15
Philosophy	15	Sociology	10

(e) Other training such as vocational, business, study courses given through the Armed Forces Institute (give name and location of school), or "in-service training" in a Federal agency:

Subjects Studied	Dates Attended From—	To—	Years Completed Day	Night

19. Indicate your knowledge of foreign languages.

Language	Reading Exc.	Reading Good	Reading Fair	Speaking Exc.	Speaking Good	Speaking Fair	Understanding Exc.	Understanding Good	Understanding Fair
German	x			x			x		
French		x				x			x

(a) How was your knowledge of foreign languages acquired?

Study-residence abroad

(b) If you have traveled or resided in any foreign countries, indicate (1) names of countries, (2) dates and length of time spent there and (3) reason or purpose (e.g., business, education, recreation).

1944-46 France & Germany
1946-50 Journalist and US Service

20. List any special skills you possess and machines and equipment you can use, such as operation of shortwave radio, multilith, comptometer, key punch, turret lathe, scientific or professional devices.

Approximate number of words per minute in typing ..... shorthand .....

21. Are you now or have you ever been a licensed or certified member of any trade or profession (such as pilot, electrician, radio operator, teacher, lawyer, CPA, etc.)

☐ Yes ☒ No Give kind of license and State:

First license or certificate (year):

Latest license or certificate (year):

22. Give any special qualifications not covered elsewhere in your application such as
(a) your more important publications (do NOT submit copies unless requested)
(b) your patents or inventions
(c) public speaking and public relations experience
(d) membership in professional or scientific societies, etc.

[illegible] — [illegible] persons living in the United States or Territories of the United States who are NOT related to you and who have definite knowledge of your [illegible]

FULL NAME	BUSINESS OR HOME ADDRESS (Give complete address including street and number)	BUSINESS OR OCCUPATION
1. Sidney Hook	New York University	Prof.
2. S. M. Levitas	7 E. 15th St. New York City	
3. James Burnham	New York University NYC	Author

[illegible] ☐ Yes ☐ No

Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column	YES	NO
[illegible]	X	
26. [illegible] or have you ever been a member of any organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence? If your answer is "Yes," give complete details in Item 38.		X
27. Within the past 12 months, have you habitually used intoxicating beverages to excess?		X
28. Since your 16th birthday, have you ever been convicted, or fined, or imprisoned, or placed on probation, or have you ever been ordered to deposit bail for the violation of any law, police regulation or ordinance (excluding minor traffic violations for which a fine of $25 or less was imposed)? If your answer is "Yes," list all such cases under Item 38 below. Give in each case (1) the date, (2) the nature of the offense or violation, (3) the name and location of the court, (4) the penalty imposed, if any, or other disposition of the case. If appointed your fingerprints will be taken.		X
29. Have you ever been discharged or forced to resign for misconduct or unsatisfactory service from any position? If your answer is "Yes," give in Item 38 the name and address of employer, date, and reason in each case.		X
30. Do you receive an annuity from the U. S. or D. C. Government under any retirement act or any pension or other compensation for military or naval service? If your answer is "Yes," give in Item 38 reason for retirement, that is, age, optional, disability, or by reason of voluntary or involuntary separation after 5 years' service, amount of retirement pay, and under what retirement act and ruling if retired from military or naval service.		X
31. Are you an official or employee of any State, Territory, county, or municipality? If your answer is "Yes," give details in Item 38		X
32. Does the U. S. Government employ in a civilian capacity any relative of yours (by blood or marriage) with whom you live or have lived within the past 6 months? If your answer is "Yes," show in Item 38 for EACH such relative, (1) full name, (2) present address, (3) relationship, (4) department or agency by which employed, and (5) kind of appointment.		X
33. Have you ever had a nervous breakdown? If your answer is "Yes," give complete details in Item 38.		X
34. Have you ever had tuberculosis? If your answer is "Yes," give complete details in Item 38.		X

Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column	YES	NO
[illegible] any physical defect or disability whatever? If your answer is "Yes," give complete details in Item 38.		
36. (a) Were you ever in the United States Military or Naval Service during time of War?		
(b) Is the word "honorable" or the word "satisfactory" used in your discharge or separation papers to show the type of your discharge or separation?		
(c) Was service performed on an active full-time basis, with full military pay and allowances?		

(d)

Date of entry or entries into service:	Date of separation or separations:
1943	1946
Branch of service (Army, Navy, M. C., C. G. etc.)	Serial No. (If none, give grade or rating at time of separation)
~~1943~~ Army	Capt. ~~1946~~

IF YOUR ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTION (No. 36) INDICATE THAT YOU ARE ENTITLED TO VETERAN PREFERENCE, SUCH PREFERENCE WILL BE CREDITED IN THE EXAMINATION. IF APPOINTED, YOU WILL BE REQUIRED TO FURNISH TO THE APPOINTING OFFICER, PRIOR TO ENTRY ON DUTY, OFFICIAL EVIDENCE OF SEPARATION FROM YOUR LATEST PERIOD OF ACTIVE SERVICE IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES DURING TIME OF WAR. DO NOT SUBMIT PROOF OF DISCHARGE OR SEPARATION WITH THIS APPLICATION.

Indicate "Yes" or "No" answer by placing X in proper column	YES	NO
37. (a) If you served in the U. S. Military or Naval Service during peacetime ONLY, did you participate in a campaign or expedition and receive a campaign badge or service ribbon?		
(b) Are you a disabled veteran?		
(c) Are you the unmarried widow of a veteran?		
(d) Are you the wife of a veteran who has service-connected disability?		

IF YOUR ANSWER TO QUESTION 37 (a), (b), (c), OR (d) IS "YES," AND YOU WISH TO CLAIM VETERAN PREFERENCE, ATTACH TO THIS APPLICATION VETERAN PREFERENCE CLAIM (CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION FORM 14) TOGETHER WITH THE NECESSARY PROOF SPECIFIED THEREIN.

THIS SPACE FOR USE OF APPOINTING OFFICE ONLY

The information contained in the answers to Question 36 above has been verified by comparison with the discharge certificate (a ______________ 19____

Agency: Title:

38. Space for detailed answers to other questions (Indicate item numbers to which answers apply).

ITEM No.		ITEM No.	

If more space is required, use paper the same size as this page. Write on each sheet your name, address, date of birth, and examination title. Attach to inside of this application.

FALSE STATEMENT ON THIS APPLICATION IS PUNISHABLE BY LAW (U. S. CODE, TITLE 18, SECTION 80)

I certify that the statements made by me in this application are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief and are made in good faith.

Date ______________________ Signature of applicant: Walter J. Easky

(Sign your name as you have given it in [illegible] Mrs. [illegible] Mrs. Mary [illegible])

[illegible]

PERSONAL HISTORY STATEMENT

Instructions: 1. Answer all questions completely. If question does not apply write "not applicable." Write "unknown" only if you do not know the answer and cannot obtain the answer from personal records. Use the blank pages at the end of this form for extra details on any question or questions for which you do not have sufficient room.

2. Type, print or write carefully; illegible or incomplete forms will not receive consideration.

HAVE YOU READ AND DO YOU UNDERSTAND THE INSTRUCTIONS? ______ (Yes or No)

SEC. 1. PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Telephone: Office: 42669 Ext. ______ Home: 804603

A. FULL NAME (Use No Initials) ~~Miss~~ Mr. ~~Mrs~~ Melvin (First) J. (Middle) Lasky (Last)

PRESENT ADDRESS US Press Center, Berlin, APO 742 (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

PERMANENT ADDRESS 719 Avenue Y, NYC, NY (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

B. NICKNAME None WHAT OTHER NAMES HAVE YOU USED? ______

______ UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES HAVE YOU EVER USED THESE NAMES? ______

HOW LONG? ______ IF A LEGAL CHANGE, GIVE PARTICULARS ______

______ (Where?) ______ (By What Authority)

C. DATE OF BIRTH 15 Jan 1920 PLACE OF BIRTH New York (City) N.Y. (State) USA (Country)

D. PRESENT CITIZENSHIP US (Country) BY BIRTH? Yes BY MARRIAGE? ______

BY NATURALIZATION CERTIFICATE # ______ ISSUED ______ (Date) BY ______ (Court)

AT ______ (City) ______ (State) ______ (Country)

HAVE YOU HAD A PREVIOUS NATIONALITY? No (Yes or No) ______ (Country)

HELD BETWEEN WHAT DATES? ______ TO ______ ANY OTHER NATIONALITY? ______ (Country)

GIVE PARTICULARS ______

HAVE YOU TAKEN STEPS TO CHANGE PRESENT CITIZENSHIP? No GIVE PARTICULARS: ______

E. IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S. WHEN DID YOU FIRST ARRIVE IN THIS COUNTRY? NA

PORT OF ENTRY? ______ ON PASSPORT OF WHAT COUNTRY? ______

LAST U.S. VISA NA (Number) ______ (Type) ______ (Place of Issue) ______ (Date of Issue) ______

SEC. 2. PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

AGE 30 SEX Male HEIGHT 5' 8" WEIGHT 170

EYES Brown HAIR Black COMPLEXION Ruddy SCARS None

BUILD Stocky OTHER DISTINGUISHING FEATURES None

SEC. 3. MARITAL STATUS

A. SINGLE X MARRIED ______ DIVORCED ______ WIDOWED ______

STATE DATE, PLACE, AND REASON FOR SEPARATION, DIVORCE OR ANNULMENT ______

NA

B. WIFE OR HUSBAND (IF YOU HAVE BEEN MARRIED MORE THAN ONCE—INCLUDE ANNULMENTS—USE A SEPARATE SHEET FOR FORMER WIFE OR HUSBAND GIVING DATA REQUIRED BELOW FOR ALL PREVIOUS MARRIAGES.)

NAME OF SPOUSE NA (First) ______ (Middle) ______ (Maiden) ______ (Last) ______

PLACE AND DATE OF MARRIAGE ______

HIS (OR HER) ADDRESS BEFORE MARRIAGE ______ (St. & No.) ______ (City) ______ (State) ______ (Country) ______

LIVING OR DECEASED ______ DATE OF DECEASE ______ CAUSE ______

PRESENT, OR LAST, ADDRESS ______ (St. & No.) ______ (City) ______ (State) ______ (Country) ______

DATE OF BIRTH ______ PLACE OF BIRTH ______ (City) ______ (State) ______ (Country) ______

IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S. INDICATE DATE AND PLACE OF ENTRY ______

CITIZENSHIP ______ WHEN ACQUIRED? ______ WHERE? ______ (City) ______ (State) ______ (Country) ______

OCCUPATION ______ LAST EMPLOYER ______

EMPLOYER'S OR BUSINESS ADDRESS ______ (St. & No.) ______ (City) ______ (State) ______ (Country) ______

MILITARY SERVICE FROM ______ (Date) TO ______ (Date) BRANCH OF SERVICE ______

COUNTRY ______ DETAILS OF OTHER GOV'T. SERVICE, U.S. OR FOREIGN

______

SEC. 4. CHILDREN OR DEPENDENTS (Include partial dependents)

1. NAME ______ RELATIONSHIP ______ AGE ______

CITIZENSHIP ______ ADDRESS ______ (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

2. NAME ______ RELATIONSHIP ______ AGE ______

CITIZENSHIP ______ ADDRESS ______ (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

3. NAME ______ RELATIONSHIP ______ AGE ______

CITIZENSHIP ______ ADDRESS ______ (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

SEC. 5. FATHER (Give the same information for stepfather and/or guardian on a separate sheet)

FULL NAME Samuel (First) ______ (Middle) Lasky (Last)

LIVING OR DECEASED Living DATE OF DECEASE ______ CAUSE ______

PRESENT, OR, LAST, ADDRESS 719 Avenue Y, New York City (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

DATE OF BIRTH 4 July '91 PLACE OF BIRTH Lodz, Poland (City / State / Country)

IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S. INDICATE DATE AND PLACE OF ENTRY 11 March 1911, NYC

CITIZENSHIP US WHEN ACQUIRED? 10 Aug '18 WHERE? US Dist. Ct. Augusta GA. (City / State / Country)

OCCUPATION Manufacturer LAST EMPLOYER NA

EMPLOYER'S OR OWN BUSINESS ADDRESS 279 West 39th St. NYC (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

MILITARY SERVICE FROM May '18 (Date) TO Dec. '18 (Date) BRANCH OF SERVICE US Army

COUNTRY US DETAILS OF OTHER GOV'T SERVICE, U.S. OR FOREIGN. ______

SEC. 6. MOTHER (Give the same information for stepmother on a separate sheet)

FULL NAME Esther (First) ______ (Middle) Lasky (Last)

LIVING OR DECEASED Living DATE OF DECEASE ______ CAUSE ______

PRESENT, OR LAST, ADDRESS 719 Avenue Y, NYC (St. & No. / City / State / Country)

DATE OF BIRTH 24 Mar. '99 PLACE OF BIRTH Lodz, Poland

CITIZENSHIP US WHEN ACQUIRED? Dec. '18 WHERE? NYC (City / State / Country)

IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S. INDICATE DATE AND PLACE OF ENTRY NYC, 18 Sept 1911

OCCUPATION NA LAST EMPLOYER NA

EMPLOYER'S OR OWN BUSINESS ADDRESS ______ St. & No. City State Country

MILITARY SERVICE FROM ______ TO ______ BRANCH OF SERVICE ______

COUNTRY ______ DETAILS OF OTHER GOV'T SERVICE, U.S. OR FOREIGN ______

SEC. 7. BROTHERS AND SISTERS (Including half-, step-, and adopted brothers and sisters)

1. FULL NAME Floria (First) (Lasky) (Middle) Altman (Last) AGE 27

   PRESENT ADDRESS 719 Avenue Y, NYC (St. & No., City) State Country Citizenship

2. FULL NAME Joyce (First) Middle Lasky (Last) AGE 19

   PRESENT ADDRESS 719 Avenue Y, NYC (St. & No., City) State Country Citizenship

3. FULL NAME ______ First Middle Last AGE ______

   PRESENT ADDRESS ______ St. & No. City State Country Citizenship

4. FULL NAME ______ First Middle Last AGE ______

   PRESENT ADDRESS ______ St. & No. City State Country Citizenship

5. FULL NAME ______ First Middle Last AGE ______

   PRESENT ADDRESS ______ St. & No. City State Country Citizenship

SEC. 8. FATHER-IN-LAW

FULL NAME NA (First) Middle Last

LIVING OR DECEASED ______ DATE OF DECEASE ______ CAUSE ______

PRESENT, OR LAST, ADDRESS ______ St. & No. City State Country

DATE OF BIRTH ______ PLACE OF BIRTH ______

IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S. INDICATE DATE AND PLACE OF ENTRY ______

CITIZENSHIP ______ WHEN ACQUIRED? ______ WHERE? ______ City State Country

OCCUPATION ______ LAST EMPLOYER ______

14-00000

SEC. 9. MOTHER-IN-LAW

FULL NAME ____________ First ____________ Middle ____________ Last

LIVING OR DECEASED ________ DATE OF DECEASE ________ CAUSE ________

PRESENT, OR LAST, ADDRESS ____________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State ________ Country

DATE OF BIRTH ________ PLACE OF BIRTH ____________

IF BORN OUTSIDE U.S. INDICATE DATE AND PLACE OF ENTRY ____________

CITIZENSHIP ________ WHEN ACQUIRED? ________ WHERE? ________ City ________ State ________ Country

OCCUPATION ________ LAST EMPLOYER ____________

SEC. 10. RELATIVES BY BLOOD, MARRIAGE OR ADOPTION, WHO EITHER LIVE ABROAD OR WHO ARE NOT CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES:

1. NAME ____________ RELATIONSHIP ________ AGE ____

   CITIZENSHIP ________ ADDRESS ________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State ________ Country

2. NAME ____________ RELATIONSHIP ________ AGE ____

   CITIZENSHIP ________ ADDRESS ________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State ________ Country

3. NAME ____________ RELATIONSHIP ________ AGE ____

   CITIZENSHIP ________ ADDRESS ________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State ________ Country

SEC. 11. RELATIVES BY BLOOD OR MARRIAGE IN THE MILITARY OR CIVIL SERVICE OF THE U.S. OR OF A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT.

1. NAME ____________ RELATIONSHIP ________ AGE ____

   CITIZENSHIP ________ ADDRESS ________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State

   TYPE AND LOCATION OF SERVICE (IF KNOWN) ____________

2. NAME ____________ RELATIONSHIP ________ AGE ____

   CITIZENSHIP ________ ADDRESS ________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State

   TYPE AND LOCATION OF SERVICE (IF KNOWN) ____________

3. NAME ____________ RELATIONSHIP ________ AGE ____

   CITIZENSHIP ________ ADDRESS ________ St. & No. ________ City ________ State

   TYPE AND LOCATION OF SERVICE (IF KNOWN) ____________

SEC. 12. EDUCATION

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ______ ADDRESS NYC Bronx (City) (State) New York (Country)

DATES ATTENDED 1926-1932 GRADUATE? Yes

HIGH SCHOOL De Witt Clinton ADDRESS Bronx, NYC (City) (State) (Country)

DATES ATTENDED 1932-1935 GRADUATE? Yes

COLLEGE City College of NY ADDRESS NYC (City) (State) (Country)

DATES ATTENDED 1935-1939 DEGREE B.S.S.

COLLEGE Univ. of Michigan ADDRESS Ann Arbor, Mich. (City) (State) (Country)

DATES ATTENDED 1939-1940 DEGREE M.A.

SEC. 13. MILITARY, NAVAL OR OTHER GOV'T SERVICE — U.S. OR FOREIGN

US (Country) US Army (Service) Capt. (Rank) 1943-1946 (Dates of Service)

U.S.F.E.T. (Frankfurt (Last Station) B-013470 0-1599507 (Serial No.) Hon. (Type of Discharge)

REMARKS: ______

SELECTIVE SERVICE BOARD NUMBER #88 ADDRESS NYC (Bronx)

IF DEFERRED GIVE REASON ______

SEC. 14. CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF EMPLOYMENT FOR PAST 15 YEARS. ACCOUNT FOR ALL PERIODS. INCLUDE CASUAL EMPLOYMENT. INCLUDE ALSO PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT. GIVE ADDRESSES AND STATE WHAT YOU DID DURING PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT. LIST LAST POSITION FIRST.

FROM 1948 TO Present

EMPLOYING FIRM OR AGENCY Department of the Army (Mil. Govt)

ADDRESS Occupation Force, Germany (St. & No.) (City) (State) (Country)

KIND OF BUSINESS Government ISD NAME OF SUPERVISOR Col. Textor

TITLE OF JOB Editor & Publisher SALARY $ 6000. PER annum

YOUR DUTIES Editing and publishing a German-language monthly magazine (Der Monat), Berlin

REASONS FOR LEAVING ______

FROM 1946 TO 1948

EMPLOYING FIRM OR AGENCY New Leader Publishing Association

ADDRESS 7 E. 15th St. New York City
St. & No. City State Country

KIND OF BUSINESS Newspaper NAME OF SUPERVISOR S.M. Levitas

TITLE OF JOB European Editor SALARY $ 5000 PER An

YOUR DUTIES Correspondent in Europe

REASONS FOR LEAVING Offer to publish "Der Monat" in Berlin

FROM 1943 TO 1948

EMPLOYING FIRM OR AGENCY US Army

ADDRESS
St. & No. City State Country

KIND OF BUSINESS NAME OF SUPERVISOR

TITLE OF JOB SALARY $ PER

YOUR DUTIES Active duty France, and Germany

REASONS FOR LEAVING Hon. Discharge

FROM 1941 TO 1943

EMPLOYING FIRM OR AGENCY New Leader Publishing Association

ADDRESS 7 E. 15th St. New York City
St. & No. City State Country

KIND OF BUSINESS Newspaper NAME OF SUPERVISOR S.M. Levitas

TITLE OF JOB Asst. Editor SALARY $ 3000 PER An

YOUR DUTIES Writing for and editing "The Newleader weekly newspaper

REASONS FOR LEAVING US Army

FROM 1941 TO 1941

EMPLOYING FIRM OR AGENCY US Dept. of Interior

ADDRESS National Park Service, Bedloes Island, New York
St. & No. City State Country

KIND OF BUSINESS National Monument NAME OF SUPERVISOR Geo. Palmer

TITLE OF JOB ~~Historian~~ SALARY $ PER

YOUR DUTIES Historical research and lecturing

REASONS FOR LEAVING Newspaper (New Leader) Offer

14-00000

SEC. 15. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN DISCHARGED OR ASKED TO RESIGN FROM ANY POSITION? HAVE YOU LEFT A POSITION UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH YOU DESIRE TO EXPLAIN? GIVE DETAILS:

No

SEC. 16. GIVE FIVE CHARACTER REFERENCES — IN THE U.S. — WHO KNOW YOU INTIMATELY — (GIVE RESIDENCE AND BUSINESS ADDRESSES WHERE POSSIBLE.)

		Street and Number	City	State
1. Sidney Hook	BUS. ADD.	Washington Square Col.	New York City	
	RES. ADD.			
2. James Burnham	BUS. ADD.	New York Univ. N.Y.C.		
	RES. ADD.			
3. Merle Curti	BUS. ADD.	Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc.		
	RES. ADD.			
4. Charles A. Pearce	BUS. ADD.	Duell, Sloan & Pearce Publishers		
	RES. ADD.	Madison Ave., NYC		
5. Wm E. Bohn	BUS. ADD.	7 E. 15th St.	New York City	
	RES. ADD.			

SEC. 17. NAMES OF FIVE PERSONS WHO KNOW YOU SOCIALLY IN THE UNITED STATES — NOT REFERENCES, SUPERVISORS OR EMPLOYERS — (Give residence and business addresses where possible.)

		Street and Number	City	State
1. Lionel Trilling	BUS. ADD.	Columbia Univ. NYC		
	RES. ADD.			
2. Richard Hofstadter	BUS. ADD.	Columbia Univ. NYC		
	RES. ADD.			
3. Max Eastman	BUS. ADD.	Readers Digest,	Pleasantville,	NYC
	RES. ADD.			
4. Edgar S. Mooney, Jr.	BUS. ADD.	Bates Manuf.	80 Work St.	NYC
	RES. ADD.			
5. S.M. Levitas	BUS. ADD.	7 E. 15th St.	NYC.	
	RES. ADD.			

SEC. 18. GIVE THREE NEIGHBORS AT YOUR LAST NORMAL RESIDENCE IN THE U.S. — (Give residence and business addresses where possible.)

			Street and Number	City	State
1.	See Note 2.	BUS. ADD.			
		RES. ADD.			
2.		BUS. ADD.			
		RES. ADD.			
3.		BUS. ADD.			
		RES. ADD.			

SEC. 19. FINANCIAL BACKGROUND

A. ARE YOU ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON YOUR SALARY? Yes IF NOT, STATE SOURCES OF OTHER INCOME

B. NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF BANKS WITH WHICH YOU HAVE ACCOUNTS

C. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN IN, OR PETITIONED FOR, BANKRUPTCY? no GIVE PARTICULARS, INCLUDING COURT:

D. GIVE THREE CREDIT REFERENCES — IN THE U.S.

	NAME	ADDRESS (St. & No. / City / State)
1.	Sam Lasky	719 Avenue Y. NYC
2.	S.M. Levites	7 E. 15th St. NYC
3.	E. B. Mooney Jr.	80 Work St. NYC

SEC. 20. RESIDENCES FOR THE PAST 15 YEARS

FROM	TO	St. No. / City / State / Country
1946	Present	US Sector, Berlin, Germany
1943	1946	US Army
1941	1943	1465 Townsend Ave. NYC
1940	1941	278 East 171st St. NYC
1939	1940	Michigan Univ. Campus, Ann Arbor USA
1932	1939	1465 Fulton Avenue NYC

SEC. 21. RESIDENCE OR TRAVEL OUTSIDE OF THE UNITED STATES

	FROM	TO	City or Section	Country	Purpose
A.	1945	1946	European Command, USArmy		
	1946	1948	Europe, West		Journalism
	1922	1923	Eruope		Child accompanied parents on tour.

FROM ________ TO ________ ________ City or Section ________ Country ________ Purpose

FROM ________ TO ________ ________ City or Section ________ Country ________ Purpose

FROM ________ TO ________ ________ City or Section ________ Country ________ Purpose

B. LAST U.S. PASSPORT — NUMBER, DATE, AND PLACE OF ISSUE: 94174 Paris, France 16 July 1946, Issued at US Embassy, Paris

HOW MANY OTHER U.S. PASSPORTS HAVE YOU HAD? NA GIVE APPROXIMATE

DATES: ________

PASSPORTS OF OTHER NATIONS: ________

SEC. 22. CLUBS, SOCIETIES AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

LIST NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF ALL CLUBS, SOCIETIES, PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES, EMPLOYEE GROUPS, ORGANIZATIONS OF ANY KIND (INCLUDE MEMBERSHIP IN, OR SUPPORT OF, ANY ORGANIZATION HAVING HEADQUARTERS OR BRANCH IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY) TO WHICH YOU BELONG OR HAVE BELONGED:

1. See Note No. 1
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

2. ________
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

3. ________
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

4. ________
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

5. ________
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

6. ________
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

7. ________
Name and Chapter — St. & No. — City — State — Country
DATES OF MEMBERSHIP: ________

SEC. 23. GENERAL QUALIFICATIONS

A. FOREIGN LANGUAGES (STATE DEGREE OR PROFICIENCY AS "SLIGHT" "FAIR" OR "FLUENT")

LANGUAGE German SPEAK Fluent READ Fluent WRITE Fair

LANGUAGE French SPEAK Fair READ Fair WRITE Fair

LANGUAGE ______ SPEAK ______ READ ______ WRITE ______

B. LIST ALL SPORTS AND HOBBIES WHICH INTEREST YOU: INDICATE DEGREE OF PROFICIENCY IN EACH:

Tennis (College Varsity)

C. HAVE YOU ANY QUALIFICATIONS, AS A RESULT OF TRAINING OR EXPERIENCE, WHICH MIGHT FIT YOU FOR A PARTICULAR POSITION?

Historian - Research

Editor - Journalism

University - Lecturer

D. LIST BELOW THE NAMES OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS, AGENCIES OR OFFICES TO WHICH YOU HAVE APPLIED FOR EMPLOYMENT SINCE 1939:

Dept of Interior (Nat'l Park Service) 1940

E. IF, TO YOUR KNOWLEDGE, ANY OF THE ABOVE HAS CONDUCTED AN INVESTIGATION OF YOU, INDICATE BELOW THE NAME OF THAT AGENCY AND THE APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE INVESTIGATION:

SEC. 24. MISCELLANEOUS

A. DO YOU ADVOCATE OR HAVE YOU EVER ADVOCATED; OR ARE YOU NOW OR HAVE YOU EVER BEEN A MEMBER OR, OR HAVE YOU SUPPORTED ANY POLITICAL PARTY OR ORGANIZATION WHICH ADVOCATES THE OVERTHROW OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES?

IF "YES", EXPLAIN: No

B. DO YOU USE, OR HAVE YOU USED, INTOXICANTS? No IF SO, TO WHAT EXTENT?

C. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN ARRESTED, INDICTED OR CONVICTED FOR ANY VIOLATION OF LAW OTHER THAN A MINOR TRAFFIC VIOLATION? IF SO, STATE NAME OF COURT, CITY, STATE, COUNTRY, NATURE OF OFFENSE AND DISPOSITION OF CASE:

No

D. HAVE YOU EVER BEEN COURT-MARTIALED WHILE A MEMBER OF THE ARMED FORCES? IF ANSWER IS "YES," GIVE DETAILS BELOW:

No

SEC. 25. PERSON TO BE NOTIFIED IN CASE OF EMERGENCY:

NAME Samuel Lasky RELATIONSHIP Father

ADDRESS 719 Avenue Y, (St. & No.) New York City (City / State) New York (Country)

SEC. 26. YOU ARE INFORMED THAT THE CORRECTNESS OF ALL STATEMENTS MADE HEREIN WILL BE INVESTIGATED.

ARE THERE ANY UNFAVORABLE INCIDENTS IN YOUR LIFE NOT MENTIONED ABOVE WHICH MAY BE DISCOVERED IN SUBSEQUENT INVESTIGATION, WHETHER YOU WERE DIRECTLY INVOLVED OR NOT, WHICH MIGHT REQUIRE EXPLANATION? IF SO, DESCRIBE. IF NOT, ANSWER "NO."

No.

SEC. 27. I CERTIFY THAT THE FOREGOING ANSWERS ARE TRUE AND CORRECT TO THE BEST OF MY KNOWLEDGE AND BELIEF, AND I AGREE THAT ANY MISSTATEMENT OR OMISSION AS TO A MATERIAL FACT WILL CONSTITUTE GROUNDS FOR IMMEDIATE DISMISSAL OR REJECTION OF MY APPLICATION.

SIGNED AT Berlin, Germany (City and State) DATE 25 Jan 1950

Witness ______ Signature of Applicant: Melvin J. Lasky

USE THE FOLLOWING PAGES FOR EXTRA DETAILS. NUMBER ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF THE QUESTION TO WHICH THEY RELATE. SIGN YOUR NAME AT THE END OF THE ADDED MATERIAL. IF ADDITIONAL SPACE IS REQUIRED USE EXTRA PAGES THE SAME SIZE AS THESE AND SIGN EACH SUCH PAGE.

Note 1. (Sec.22)

I may have been a member of
(a) American Newspaper Guild
(b) American Historical Assoc.
but I do not definitely recall whether membership had been completed.

Note 2 (Sec 18)

Inasmuch as I have not been "resident at home" in seven (7) years I am unable to give names of neighbors.

14-00000

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

DATE

TO: JDent

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

How is Brer Lasky getting along?

jeb

Mr. Baker

Mr. Garland's office advises Provisional Clearance will come thru 23 or 24 February.

JED

FROM:

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

DATE

TO: LG

BUILDING

ROOM NO

REMARKS:

Herewith project with comments: Believe we should advise commo that increased traffic expectable in Germany in May (SO may expect same thing).

Think this generally excellent job so far and we can proceed to put in shape for final ok.

jeb

FROM:

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

7 Feb 50
DATE

TO: Mr. Baker

BUILDING

ROOM NO.

REMARKS: Ennio Hodkins.

OSE advises papers on subject are enroute to that office — clearance should be effective by week's end. Will follow-up!

Michael Feeder

FROM: Jack

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

W. Germany Trade Show

U.S. Symphony Orchestra
Brutish Finish Educational Exhibit
Ballet
open air band concerts

Special lighting of W. Berlin streets.

(cards in windows)

Suggest Conf. technique for getting this up

TO: OD

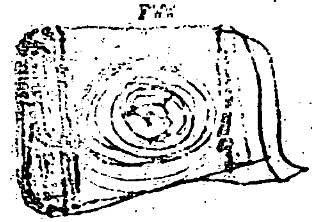
RE: PBQUICK

Please print up the simplest form of light board megaphones (perhaps five inches deep), in West German colors and printed:

DEUTSCHLAND, FREI U. UNABHAENGIG

For distribution to street crowds.

FWH



5 in deep

Black/White/Red

Deutschland Frei

Berlin ist keine Soviet Kolonie

14-00000

SECRET

1 March 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: OSE
ATTN: Mr. Garland

SUBJECT: James Burnham

REFERENCE: Project [illegible]

1. The project is a proposal to hold an Intellectual and Cultural Congress in Berlin, Germany, to be sponsored by leading German intellectuals, notably Dr. [illegible] of the Free University of Berlin. The object is to establish a base of freedom in political, cultural and social thought, established where it may serve as a springboard for propaganda infiltration into the Iron Curtain countries including East Germany. At the same time, and perhaps of even greater importance, the Congress will be held either immediately preceding or immediately following the Communist Youth Rally to be held in Berlin the last three days of May - serving to offset considerably the influence of the Communist rally and as a basis for counter propaganda and counter action.

2. The Berlin OPC field office has urged the sending of two propaganda experts to the field as special consultants. James Burnham fits the requirement, is under contract, and we have proposed in a cablegram to send him during the month of April for a period of from 30 to 60 days. While in the field he will serve in approximately the same capacity and perform the same functions as when on duty in Washington. The second propaganda expert is a staff employee.

[illegible]

FBIII/[illegible]
cc: OPC Reg (2)
FBIII Chrono file
Subject file

SECRET

14-00000

Dear ...

This letter will serve as an official invitation and credential as a delegate to the Congress for Cultural Freedom. The passport and visa authorities know about the Congress and will extend all facilities to delegates. When you have secured your passport, you can obtain your Berlin visa from the Allied High Command Permit Office, 42 Broadway, New York City. The American Express Company, through its foreign travel section, will arrange for air-travel bookings. We will inform you when your ticket is available and all further details of transportation.

We are enclosing a copy of our first New York release. It contains a copy of the proposed program of the Congress and the names of many of our international delegates and supporters. The details of the program are now being worked out in Berlin. As soon as we receive them, we shall be happy to send you a copy.

Copies of your books are being ordered and will be sent to Berlin where they will be on public display. We would appreciate your sending us a negative of your photograph for use in connection with this display.

If there is any other information you require, or any way we can be of help to you, please feel free to call upon us at our New York office.

Sincerely yours,

20 February 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR Chief, I & S - Attention: Mr. George Laker

THROUGH: CGP and SEC/OPC

SUBJECT: Franklyn A. Johnson

1. Subject is being sent to Germany for a period of 90 days TDY, beginning on or about 10 March 1950, to take part in the activation of an approved FB-III project. He is an OPC intelligence officer assigned to FBA/OPC, but is being detailed to FB-III/OPC for this particular assignment. The project will be a propaganda warfare operation.

2. For travel to and from Germany and during his sojourn there, Mr. Johnson will use Department of Army cover; his orders will show him to be a civilian employee of the Department of the Army and he will have a special passport. He will report to the Chief of Operations of the OPC German Mission who has offices in Heidelberg. The cover designation of this unit is Documents Disposal Unit, Department of Army. Mr. Johnson's activities in connection with his TDY assignment in Germany will take him also to Frankfurt and Berlin, where he will use the same cover.

3. Mr. Johnson has been briefed on the cover used by the station to which he will report and on the measures to be taken to conceal his connection with CIA during his sojourn in Germany.

John E. Baker
Chief, FB-III

cc: OPC File
OPC Chrono
FB-III Chrono
FB-III subject (PD-Quick)

14-00000

KIBLIN, Patricia A.   FB-II   GS-5, $3100. p/a

Washington, D. C., to Heidelburg and Berlin, Germany, for 90 days TDY, and return to Washington, with no leave enroute.

Requested TDY is considered essential. Subject will report to Chief, JETDICT field station as clerical assistant in connection with approved operations requiring immediate activation. Project 0-56-JETDICT (8 November 1949)

Has been assigned by FB-II to FB-III for this special, temporary duty.

06   10 March 1950   X

X   X

X

Maximum allowable   0-56-JETDICT

Travel advance of $500.00 requested.

20 February 1950

John E. Baker, FB-III

24 Feb

Take up with Garland after seeing Joe Bryan who will not return until 27th

Lg

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

DATE

TO: L.G.

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Assume you will fix him up. JB

FROM:

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

TRANSMITTAL SLIP

24 February '50
DATE

TO: Mr. Baker

BUILDING | ROOM NO.

REMARKS:

Herewith is Mr. Hobbing's clearance!

Clearance is covert security type which, I believe, puts this individual in category of staff agent and, therefore, under Peg Johnson's jurisdiction.

No? He will be contract - part-time agent. BHB

FROM: JED

BUILDING | ROOM NO. | EXTENSION

FORM NO. 36-8
SEP 1946

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

SECRET

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : ADPC Attention: Security Officer DATE: 20 February 1950

FROM : Chief, Inspection and Security Staff

SUBJECT: J.G. - 273
#36778

Reference is made to your memorandum dated 15 February 1950 concerning the subject.

This memorandum requested change in status for the subject from an operational clearance to that of ~~a covert~~ consultant for the purposes as outlined in the memorandum of 16 February 1950.

In accordance with the provisions set forth in the Director's memorandum of 14 February 1949, entitled "Security and Operational Clearances", a covert security clearance as requested in the memorandum of 15 February 1950 is granted for the use of the subject.

This covert clearance as granted does not always constitute complete compliance with the provisions of AI 10-2. Therefore, if you should desire at a later date to change the status or use of this individual, please advise Inspection and Security sufficiently in advance so that no delay is caused in the transition.

This Office would further appreciate being advised when the contemplated use as set forth in your memorandum of 15 February 1950 for the subject has been completed, so that the files of this Office may be kept up to date.

FOR THE CHIEF, INSPECTION AND SECURITY STAFF

George P. Loker Jr.

GEORGE P. LOKER, JR.

SECRET

TOP SECRET

17 February 1950

MEMORANDUM TO: CPB II

SUBJECT: Meeting with Kenneth B. HAMBLEY and Messrs. Williams, Droller, Glaser, and Smith re Berlin Conference

1. Direct action is imperative in Berlin.

a. Organize groups to beat the Commie opposition in street fighting.

b. Carry the counterattack into the Soviet Sector.

c. It is not undesirable to have Soviet's fire on German citizens.

2. Fighting, against the background of the Peace Conference, with the general population and the conference participants in the streets, would have tremendous and desirable effect.

a. To be beaten in the streets would be defeat complete.

b. A fight is important. A successful fight is imperative. It would cause good publicity, instill confidence in the Berlin population and insure major victories for our side.

c. If no Commie fighting group plans to start the fight, create one and beat it up.

3. A head-on challenge — rioting and perhaps shooting — is inherent in the streets as it is now conceived.

4. HAMBLEY thinks that the Soviet authorities plan control of the streets.

5. What would mass effect be of a background of American tanks?

a. If it is necessary to prevent defeat — do it.

b. It would be far better, however, to have force exercised by the Berlin population — with no American military force in sight.

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE CLASSIFICATION

Secret

Eric Jones ... EE/G 15 [illegible] 58

TOP SECRET

~~38580~~ COPY 1 OF 2 COPIES

TOP SECRET

6. According to political reliability, the participants' names fall in the following categories:

a. Black

b. Gray

c. White

7. Eliminate the blacks. We can keep the gray if the white list is long enough.

8. Jean Paul Sartre is a type which should be excluded. He has fixed political ideas of the wrong sort. If our people discuss Soviet labor camps, he will bring up Spanish camps, Greek islands, South Africa, etc. He would only be an obstructionist.

9. Eliminate Plievier.

10. Eliminate Julian Huxley.

11. Include Czapski on the sponsoring committee.

12. A delegate from South America should be selected.

13. It is recommended that Sidney Hook go to Berlin within two weeks to organize the whole affair.

Dawson Smith
DAWSON SMITH
plr mw

PB II: DS/mw

cc: #1 JBIII
#2 CDroller Chrono
#3 DSmith-HAMBLEY File
#4 DSmith Chrono
#5 PB II Chrono
#6 OPC Registry Chrono
#7 OPC Registry File

TOP SECRET

~~38280~~
Cy. 1 of 7 copies

SECRET

16 February 1950.

Suggestions for Mr. Baker

Re: Project Memorandum No. 35.

1. I would suggest that the following person and organizations be invited to attend and participate in the May meeting:

a. Dr. Reinhold NIEBUHR (USA)
presently at the Union Theological School, Columbia University he is a member of the Commission on the Occupied Areas and past chairman of the General Committee of World Student Service Fund.

b. International Student Service (ISS)
an outstanding international cultural exchange medium of the university community (ie. both professors and students are included) with headquarters in Geneva. This organization was formed after the first world war and in addition to its conference and tour activities it has been primarily responsible for the relief work done throughout the world in the colleges and universities. This organization is the most prominent existing opponent of the International Union of Students (IUS) in which the FDJ holds membership.

c. World Assembly of Youth (WAY)
organized recently (1948) in London this is an international youth organization formed to counter the influence and activities of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) The WFDY is communist dominated and controlled. The FDJ is a member of the WFDY.

2. With reference to the Project Memorandum dated 31 January 1950.

6. a. The facilities of the World Radio University (WRUL) a non-governmental short-wave radio station in NYC and Boston might be used in connection with pre-publicizing the May meeting. USA participants could be interviewed and the day-to-day activities of the meeting presented via the air waves.

6. c.d. This should be encouraged.

8. d. An anonymous publication of COLLOQUIUM might be useful here. This student magazine at the University of Berlin (as opposed to the Free University) prior to April 1948 acted as a spokesman of the student opposition to the Soviet.

SECRET

9. Why are we apprehensive? Is there a possibility that the west German youth would follow the cp line?

11. Considering (9) in the light of (11) I would think that it would serve US interests to fly into Berlin students now in the western zones who have fled their former eastern German homes. These students, oriented towards the West, might best serve our propaganda interests. Dialect speaking to dialect, etc.

P.K.

Memo: 10 Feb.

8 Feb. Discussion with Williams reference theme of congress and PW possibilities.

Talk with Denby reference project - he produced outline draft.

9 Feb. Met Mr. Hilger, preliminary talk reference personalities involved in Congress, plan for future meetings.

Conference at home of Jim Burnham (Williams, Droller, Smith, Burnham, Glaser.

At this meeting Mr. Burnham, in response to questions, stated his enthusiasm for the idea. He proposed that Sidney Hook be sent over to Germany for a few weeks on an exploratory mission - and to render what assistance he may in connection with planning. He expressed his willingness to go over to Berlin sometime in advance of the congress (under cover of an invitation he has received from the Free University) to actively assist in planning the agenda and other details. He is making up a list of proposed delegates to be invited; thinks it important someone from S. America be included. He is particularly opposed to the inclusion of Sarte in the list of delegates; is not sure of Plievier but not opposed. Arrangements made to continue conferring, probably next week.

10 Feb. 1st draft of Project completed.

13 Feb. idea of money compensation — money could come from [illegible], sponsored by ~~[illegible]~~ Scientists in France(?) "if your university is not prepared to finance your travel — etc." [illegible]
(Steinplatz hotel suggested) (Taberna)
~~[illegible]~~ any Hook desirable

14 Feb. Help Taber to send [illegible] and Lawrence to Berlin. Hook? Postpone next talk with Burnham until date settled.

16 Feb. [illegible]

[illegible] (OVER)

see Burnham with some of his questions.

His answers:

1. The whole question of the title of the Congress has been giving him some concern. Held at any other time than in immediate juxtaposition to the Communist Youth Rally, it would be OK. Held at that time it is inevitably going to be regarded as a counter attack and in those terms a 'Congress of Culture' is not adequate. He wants to broaden the base - perhaps label it a political Congress. (My own idea, at the moment, is opposed to a political label; but I agree that a Congress for Intellectual Freedom - which could take in political aspects - might be better than restricting it to culture.)

2. He suggests June as a date - unless we can turn out this affair in a BIG and SIGNIFICANT enough fashion to really offset the communist convention. I don't know his arguments for June but I can imagine that they would take the line that instead of being lost in the world wide attention and publicity for the communist deal, it would come as the last shot, after the communists had exposed themselves as slaves of Moscow, and might make a ringing effect. Also June would be the right time for college people to get away from their universities, might be very difficult in May.

3. He is anxious to have labor represented and suggested a big representation from labor groups, including Dubinsky. Also certain leading political figures.

21 Feb. Comms [illegible] in [illegible].

21 Feb. Project first in circulation for coord.

23 " Cable to field (held until 27 for coord.)

27 " [illegible] Holbing (through Time)
" " [illegible]

Arrangements with Chester, [illegible], [illegible] - to meet

[illegible] talk Helger

28 " Cair [illegible] Chester

[illegible] - Complete talk

[illegible] for Committee [illegible] on Monday

Prepared draft of dispatch to field

Am. Express.

Interview under name of Martin H. Williams, of Kingston, Pa., with Mr. Gilmore, Asst. Passenger Traffic Manager of Trav. Dept.

Am. Ex. will accept money (check, draft or cash) in one place - N.Y. office - or in several places (Paris, for instance) provided one central office knows details and can coordinate.

Will then write to all offices involved, authorizing transportation, etc., for list of persons (which may be added to at last moment). We specify what credentials persons must present. We also specify whether transportation is to be by air, steamship, rail, etc.; first class or otherwise; whether or not 'expenses' are to be allowed - in this connection they suggest that travelling expenses be allowed (for meals, etc.) not to exceed 10% of transportation. They suggest that we act as soon as practicable because of rush for travel to Europe but Mr. Gilmore says they can be reasonable certain of providing air transportation.

They will render a complete accounting of transportation and expense money provided, and remit unexpended balances.

14-00000

Meeting ... Burnham/...

Skeggs.

Samples of material so far issued.

They are working on the matter of satellite representation. Examples: Czapski and Chapski from Poland; Porutka from Czechoslovakia; Nicolaevsky and Yakofleff from Russia. Several others.

Eleanor Roosevelt had accepted, but after appearance of NY Times story she was seen by a reporter and was said to have stated that she had changed her mind. Hook is also doubtful because of his commitment to U of Cal. However, a personal letter is going to these three, from McCloy, urgently asking them to attend. Helen Douglas and Robt. Montgomery are both regarded as excellent prospects.

Skeggs expressed dim view of Buttles' activities and is anxious US interest and US releases be played down. However, he is anxious that there should be great deal of publicity as time approaches. Furthermore, I got impression that he had inspired Buttles, to some extent at least, to take the action in approaching Hook. For instance, Skeggs is anxious that we consider suggestion that about the 1st or 2nd of June an advertisement appear in NY Times and Wash. Post, signed by large number of organizations and persons, calling attention to Congress. He suggested this could be organized by Sidney Hook which gave me idea that he may have suggested some such activity to Buttles, which may have resulted in Buttles' trip.

Details in Berlin are being crefully worked out. Delegates will stop either at the Steinplatz or Amzoo hotel - obvious reasons for having them all together. They will have official taxis for their use, corridors and entrances will be guarded by plain clothes German and US personnel, some of them will be inconspicuously guarded personally. Meeting place - Taberna Academica - will be well guarded.

Matter of interpreters being worked upon, report later.

There will be press delegates from all countries, in addition radio RIAS will tape the entire proceedings and will furnish cuttings to individual radio stations, for instance - if the Vienna radio wants the speech of one of the Austrian delegates, it can be provided. Rias also will be on air with reports of proceedings, but they may need some pressure later on.

He will deliver the $200 to Hook and thinks that will be sufficient. He and Hook and Burnham will try to work out methods of definitely signing up certain doubtful prospects. He will report to Marian Saunders and when he comes to Washington, to Kellerman. On my advice, he will play it straight with both - as though he had no contact with us, says he will listen rather than talk, but I regard that as impossible. Will assure State that everything is going well, is completely in hands of committee and that all action should stem from Berlin in order to have central control and full coordination.

Was delighted at plans for financing travel of delegates.

8 February 1950

MEMORANDUM

REF: PDQUICK

1. All of the names suggested so far are listed. Suggestions are needed for additions.

Frau Luise Schroeder
Dr. Klaus Mehnert 201-17292
Frieda Utley
A. Rossi
Dorothy Thompson
Ruth Fischer
Sperber
Lin Yu Tang
*Aver
*Barankovic
*Tonvonlovic
*Iovanic
*Gabrilovi
*Babette Gross – 201-3892 ([illegible] Peter [illegible] 1923)
Ralph Bunche
Walter White
Max Yergin
Rector – Frankfurt University
Hu-Shih

L. G.

for main Committee
[illegible]
[illegible]

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

INSTRUCTIONS: Officer designations should be used in the "To" column. Under each comment a line should be drawn across sheet and each comment numbered to correspond with the number in the "To" column. Each officer should initial (Check mark insufficient) before further routing. This Record and Routing Sheet should be returned to Registry.

FROM: FB-III	NO.
	DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. SADO			✓ 1	e.o.	
2. PB-II			2/3	Pm	
3. Staff III				W	
4. COP					
5. DDPC					
6. FB III					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51.10
APR 1949

SECRET

14-00000

7 February 1950

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE

SUBJECT: Proposed Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom

REFERENCE: Dispatch No. 131-CEGWU, dated 6 January 1950
Matthew T. Christie memorandum dated 29 December 1950

1. A conference to discuss subject project was held 6 Feb 1950 in the office of Mr. John E. Baker, Chief FB-III. Present were:

Mr. Carmel Offie, SADO
Mr. John Harrison, Chief Staff II, PPD
Mr. James O. Denby, Staff II, Area Branch B
Mr. Joseph Bryan III, Chief FB-II, PPD
Mr. Fred W. Williams, FB-II
Mr. Gerald Droller, FB-II
Mr. Louis Glaser, FB-III
Mr. Baker

For the purpose of this conference, Mr. Harrison acted as the personal representative of CPP, and Mr. Baker as the personal representative of CCP.

2. Reference communications concerning subject project were read and discussed. There was unanimous agreement upon the following points:

a. That the project was feasible, worthy and particularly valuable as a partial counter to the Communist German youth rally scheduled for 27 May in Berlin;

b. That it could not be staged successfully for less than $40,000, but that an allocation of $50,000 should be made to insure fully adequate financial support;

c. That approval of the French and British High Commissioners for Germany should be obtained to insure tri-partite support of the Congress, and that French and British material aid should be forthcoming, at least to the extent of providing transportation for delegates from their countries.

3. It was agreed also that an effort should be made to arrange the attendance at the congress of representative refugee intellectuals from curtain countries, but that these should <u>not</u>

include members of the various national committees.

4. The question of using NYLON funds for this project was not discussed, but will be considered in due course.

5. Therefore, it was decided to draft a cable to the German mission granting approval to the project, subject to the stipulation concerning French and British participation, and authorizing the field to proceed with preliminary contacts and organizational work. Immediately thereafter, it was agreed, appropriate representatives of OPD and PPD would proceed with the drafting of a project plan in official form, together with appropriate operational annexes to guide implementation of the project.

6. Draft of proposed cable to the German mission is attached hereto.

John E. Baker
FB-III

Concur:

Mr. Offie ______

Mr. Harrison ______

Mr. Denby ______

Mr. Bryan ______

Mr. Williams ______

Mr. Droller ______

Mr. Glaser ______

JEB/njh
cc: OPC Reg (2)
FB-III (2)

7 February 1950

MEMORANDUM OF CONFERENCE

SUBJECT: Proposed Berlin Congress for Cultural Freedom

REFERENCE: Dispatch No. [illegible], dated 6 January 1950
Matthew T. Christie memorandum dated 28 December 1950

1. A conference to discuss subject project was held 6 Feb 1950 in the office of Mr. John K. Baker, Chief PP-III. Present were:

Mr. Carmel Offie, SAPC
Mr. John Harrison, Chief Staff II, PPD
Mr. James G. [illegible], Staff II, Area Branch D
Mr. Joseph Bryan III, Chief PP-II, PPD
Mr. Fred W. Williams, PP-II
Mr. Gerald Miller, PP-II
Mr. Louis Glaser, PP-III
Mr. Baker

For the purpose of this conference, Mr. Harrigan acted as the personal representative of OPC, and Mr. Baker as the personal representative of [illegible].

2. Reference communications concerning subject project were read and discussed. There was unanimous agreement upon the following points:

a. That the project was feasible, worthy and particularly valuable as a partial counter to the Communist German youth rally scheduled for 27 May in Berlin;

b. That it could not be staged successfully for less than $40,000, but that an allocation of $50,000 should be made to insure fully adequate financial support;

c. That approval of the French and British High Commissioners for Germany should be obtained to insure tri-partite support of the Congress, and that French and British material aid should be forthcoming, at least to the extent of providing transportation for delegates from their countries.

3. It was agreed also that an effort should be made to arrange the attendance at the congress of representative refugee intellectuals from certain countries, but that these should __not__

include members of the various national committees.

4. The question of using STLOS funds for this project was not discussed, but will be considered in due course.

5. Therefore, it was decided to draft a cable to the German mission granting approval to the project, subject to the stipulation concerning French and British participation, and authorizing the field to proceed with preliminary contacts and organizational work. Immediately thereafter, it was agreed, appropriate representatives of OPD and PPD would proceed with the drafting of a project plan in official form, together with appropriate operational annexes to guide implementation of the project.

6. Draft of proposed cable to the German mission is attached hereto.

JEB

John E. Baker
FD-III

Concur:

Mr. Offie ________ CO

Mr. Harrison ________ HH

Mr. Denby ________ JCD

Mr. Bryan ________

Mr. Williams ________ FW

Mr. Droller ________ GD

Mr. Glaser ________ LG

JEB/njh
cc: OPC Reg (2)
FE-III (2) SADO STAFF II STAFF II/AREA BRANCH B
PB-II

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: CPB II

NO. [illegible]

DATE 7 Feb. 1950

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. FBB III (Mr. Baker)		2/8			[illegible]
2. LG				[illegible]	[illegible handwritten comment] B
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					9 Feb.
11.					Memo by L.G.: Kroller could be of extreme value, not as
12.					contributing anything substantial to the Congress (which he is qualified
13.					to do, ~~but which would not be~~ necessary) but because the follow
14.					up will call for intensive P.W. planning — and seeing and hearing
15.					the Congress and discussions ~~with the people met there~~, would make PB II follow up work much more efficient and effective.

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1949

SECRET (Me Too!)

SECRET

7 February 1950

MEMORANDUM TO: COP

VIA: DS III, CPP

SUBJECT: Berlin Intellectual Congress

REFERENCE: COP's memo to PB II, 25 January 1950

1. PB II agrees that the proposed congress deserves thorough support.

2. We would like to send Gerald Droller to Berlin, to arrive a few days before the congress opens and to remain a few days after it closes. Mr. Droller is a native of the city and is specially qualified to represent PB II's interests.

3. Our substantive recommendations have already been expressed to Mr. Baker.

J. BRYAN, III

PB II/JBIII/mm

cc: FBS III (Mr. Baker)
FBA III (Mr. Miller)
DS II (Mr. Harrison)
PB II Branch Chrono
JBIII Chrono
OPC Registry Chrono
OPC Registry File

SECRET

For Mr. Glaser

JCD

[...]EET

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FROM: Mr. Glaser

NO.

DATE

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Mr. Baker					
2. Mr Glaser					Lou I have asked Nancy to make 5 copies of project for our conference. JCB
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1956

SECRET

What started out to ... was that it would be ... [illegible] ... this particular [illegible] of the general idea of a Congress to [illegible] ... one of numerous people, including [illegible] Josselson who have [illegible] the idea ... it [illegible] 1949 spring [illegible]

SECRET

[illegible] February 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Baker

1. I first heard of this proposal at a de-briefing of Ruth Fischer, which took place about three months ago. I first took a negative view of the proposal, which seemed to be in danger of loose and ineffective handling; however, I have an entirely different opinion of such a conference as outlined by Josselson and under his guidance. It could, if very well handled, furnish an opportunity for creation of morale, basis for propaganda and a spring-board for continuing effort.

2. Berlin not only is the obvious place for the conference, it is the only place where the impact could immediately be felt in Satellite countries. (Berlin radio, press and personal contact with East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia.)

3. Should the sponsoring committee include a woman? Possibly Louise Schroeder or Frau von Zahn-Harnack or Jeanette Wolf? I also suggest Karl Arnold. And would like you to consider the inclusion of a known anti-Soviet intellectual who also is anti-U.S.

4. I think the budget should be expanded to cover the possibility that the City of Berlin may not, or perhaps should not, provide the various halls and opera houses free of charge; also a "convention" in Germany involves more flowers and music (usually a 100-piece symphony orchestra) than a Vanderbilt Wedding. I think the over-all Berlin expense of DM 10,000 should have a reserve of at least an additional DM 10,000

5. I think this proposal should, in the interest of speed, be implemented as follows:

a. A conference of representatives of CCP, CPP, SADC - for quick (24-hour) agreement in principle, so that a cable may be sent to the field.

b. Preparation of a Project Plan and procurement of special assistants.

c. Preparation of a subsidiary propaganda plan - to insure adequate reporting of the conference and adequate circulation of its deliberations, in several languages, behind the curtain..

6. Even with the method proposed in paragraph 5, unless a cable of basic approval can go out of here before the 9th of February - and the Project can be prepared, coordinated and fully approved prior to 21 February,- I do not believe we can count on the timing suggested by Mike which, incidentally, is excellent coming as it does prior to the big presumptive explosions of 1 May and the Communist Youth Conference. I, therefore, propose that the suggestion in 5 (a) be [illegible]ed on 6 Februay.

SECRET

L.G.

14-00000

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

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FROM: COP

NO. 5-16213

DATE 26 Jan.

TO	ROOM NO.	DATE REC'D	DATE FWD'D	OFFICER'S INITIALS	COMMENTS
1. Baker		1/27			
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					File [illegible]
15.					

FORM NO. 51-10
APR 1948

SECRET

SECRET

25 January 1950

MEMORANDUM TO: BAKER
MILLER
HARRISON
BRYAN

SUBJECT: Berlin Intellectual Conference

1. A proposal for the support of an Intellectuals' Conference in Berlin has been pouched in by Gearing. He asks that this be given urgent consideration and that a decision should be made as quickly as possible. If the operation is undertaken, Josselson will need the assistance of two or three people in Berlin. These people might be the same as those mentioned in relation to the Communist Youth meeting in Berlin this Spring.

2. Arrangements for the organization of a political and psychological coordinating group in HICOG have been completed and are awaiting McCloy's approval. The purpose of this group is to coordinate the activities of the various staff sections in McCloy's office in these fields, and to develop a more intensive program of action.

3. Gearing will sit as a member of the Committee representing SHUTE. This will give him the opportunity of being acquainted with all overt action planned in Germany so that covert operations can be properly coordinated with them.

F.

FAL:mt

SECRET

COPY

January 11, 1950.

Your letter of December 29 was late in arriving and I am replying by hand to save delay.

(a) The idea of a "MOHAT" Congress is an excellent one! But should it be a "MCHAT" Congress or something undertaken under the auspices of a non-government, especially a non-occupying government group. Perhaps the Free University can be nominal sponsor or some European Fed for Cultural Freedom ad hoc.

(b) Spring is too soon to organize such a conference properly. Suggest late summer or fall.

(c) To be effective conference must be tied in with some concrete issue of a cultural character in which all delegates can agree despite their difference on other things. What specific issue positive or negative is shaping up in Germany today in which leading intellectuals can take a position? The differences among the participants, if not as great as at Paris, will certainly be considerable, and this is not at all a bad thing if things don't end up as they did in Paris. The main thing, however, is to see that there is at least one major practical issue on which everyone can agree independently of differences in fighting Stalinism.

(d) I assume you can arrange to cover expenses for Reise and Unterkunft of all delegates.

(e) Suggest the following be united from this country: Edmund Wilson, Dos Passos, Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, William Faulkner, Reinhold Niebuhr, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., Philip Rahv, William Phillips, Lionel Trilling, Farrell, perhaps me. If you can get 5 from the U.S. to attend, it would be enough.

(f) Koestler was planning something similar to this. My suggestion would be to get in touch with him at once to see whether anything has come of his plans. He would also be a good man to draft the statement of the call which should be signed by one person from England (Orwell or Russell), France, Netherland, Germany, Italy, Belgium and US, perhaps some Spanish exile.

The suggestion to set up an International Committee for Cultural Freedom may serve as the least common denominator of the varying interests. Careful preparation, of course, is necessary but if you can get 50 to 60 people together of outstanding stature, we can do the trick.

In conclusion, timing is important and the few people in this part of the world can get away in the S[illegible]